THEOLOGY

A Monthly Journal of Historic Christianity

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EDITORIAL

Some criticisms of a church service appeared in a recent issue of this Journal. The Editor did not know at all what church was in question. No one wrote to express agreement or approval. Four readers expressed regret that the article had been printed. One correspondent wrote that he could, if he chose, produce severe criticisms of cathedral services. The Editor is quite unshaken, so far as his own convictions are concerned, but all the evidence that he has is to the effect that our readers do not like that kind of thing. Accordingly, he does not propose to print a second article which he received at the same time from the same writer. The sensitiveness was in this instance on behalf of another, and for the credit of the Church, and therefore generous. But such sensitiveness might have some connection with the idea whatever I do, or whatever those who agree with me do, must be right. This is a commonplace, unattractive vice. On the whole, however, it might be maintained that criticism of the manner in which a priest causes or allows a service to be conducted involves unkindness to a good man who is probably grappling with many more difficulties than are apparent on the surface. Unkindness is always to be avoided, if possible. Therefore, no more. It is in some ways a pity, because the second article was about a cathedral. But it will never be read now, at least not in Theology.

Is it possible to avoid the sort of controversy which is in danger of being unkind or depressing, and nevertheless to suggest that Church of England worship needs to be improved? It certainly ought to be possible. In fact, it has been done quite lately in Father Hebert's symposium *The Parish Communion*. Father Hebert has collected a team of very competent writers who expound the theology and the practical conditions of what some of us have been accustomed for years to call "the 9.15." There is no magic in the exact hour, but in one parish it was the simple fact that 9.15 brought up romance,

and the romance remained. If regard be had to the population of the parish, it was tiny. If regard be had to the glory of God, it was, not contemptible—no reasonably conscientious attempt is ever that in this regard—but infinitesimal. Yet it served. It served God, in a rough, undevout, inartistic, unmusical way. And it served some of the spiritual needs of some of God's sons and daughters. There was no choir. They all sang. Nearly all communicated. They then adjourned to a resort not far away, took food out of their pockets and ate it, and bought cups of tea for a halfpenny each. A good many of them then went for what those who can detect *urbruse* (Latin—see Torquemada in *The Observer*) might call a country walk.

The whole thing was poor enough. There was a vestment on the priest's back, but there was not much music in his voice, and there were no lights on the altar. The people were not the important people of the parish. They were in fact mostly boys and girls, with perhaps thirty mothers, ten fathers, and an uncle or two. The service was regarded by the two powerful groups known as the Sunday Morning Congregation and the School People as a private venture of the Vicar, which he chose to have at the expense of his comfortable sausage at the Vicarage. The accession of about ten shillings a week to the collections was in the eyes of one group outweighed by the occasional inconvenience of having to wait in the porch for a few minutes at about 10.20 till the last verse of " Lord, enthroned in heavenly splendour " had been succeeded by a silence and a scuffle of feet, and the pews of the true worshippers (*Venite adoremus et procidamus et ploremus ante Dominum*) were at last clear of their usurpers. By the other group it was counted rather irreverent that a church service should be held during the hours of Morning School. Not many of the School People actually went to Morning School, but they knew that God is Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship with Bibles and in school.

That " 9.15 " was a lame affair. The musical critic of *The Times* would have been startled, the editor of the *Protestant Banner* shocked. The *mitis sapientia* of *Urbanus* might have pined for something rather more civilized. The proprietors of *The Tatler* and *The Tailor and Cutter* would have dismissed it as unworthy of consideration. But was it the kind of thing which will be general in time to come ? The writers in *The Parish Communion* think that something like it, only, of course, very much better than what has been here described, will

gradually come to hold the field. If we assume three things—viz., that Eucharistic worship is the best form of worship, that non-communicating Eucharistic worship is very incomplete, and that the Fast before Communion ought (shall we say, at least normally) to be observed—what else is there ? The book refreshes the pastoral mind with its picture of large numbers of communicants present at a Eucharist which they regard as their own, which, save for the ministry of a harmless, necessary priest, they carry on for themselves. The theological mind is delighted when Dom Gregory Dix, who, not for the first time, seems to take a sort of mischievous satisfaction in destroying cherished conventions by ingenious and well-documented historical argument, describes the way in which during the Middle Ages the Mass was unhappily " clericalized." He quotes a familiar Offertory Prayer:

" ' Receive, Holy Father, this immaculate victim which *I* thy unworthy servant offer . . . *for all who stand around*. . . .' This prayer is an intrusion into the Roman rite from later Gallican sources. Here ' clericalism ' has invaded the sanctuary. The sacrifice has become something done *by* the clergy *for* the people."

Better and more primitive is: " Be gracious, O Lord, unto our supplications, and of thy good will receive these oblations of Thy servants and handmaids: that what each has offered to the honour of Thy Name may avail for the salvation of all." This, as Dom Gregory says, is of Roman origin and ancient.

It is true that Prebendary Briscoe's article suggests that a different order of Sunday morning worship suits the conditions of English village life, with its labourers, farmers and gentry, better than the ideal assumed elsewhere in the book. He affirms—and who shall doubt it ?—that a thoroughly good type of Christian life can be built up on the lines which he himself describes. This is undeniable. Most of such Catholic piety and character as does exist among us has been built up on just those lines. The authors of this book, like the members of the Liturgical School among the Roman Catholics, are reformers, and not at present very numerous, though the number of those who are beginning to think that there is something in it is surely very large. But the determining thing is: Can 8 (or 7 and 8) and the Sung Eucharist without communicants at 11 really be defended ? It has arrived, but ought it to continue ? Mass at 11 is better than Mattins at 11, but there are two pressing questions about Mass at 11, as it commonly exists. The first is: Is it right to have at the principal Communion of

Sunday no communicants? And the second is: Will the hour of 11 hold its own? 11.45 or 12.15 will quite certainly fail. They are too late in the day. And we have grave doubts about 11.

There is another problem, which raises a point of moral principle and a point of psychology. There are some who like the early hour because of its quietness. There are not very many people, and it is easy, they say, to be alone with God. Where many people are, there is noise, and confusion, and distraction. We confess to a lurking sympathy with this. It is distressing when would-be careful attention to the Kyrie or the Epistle is penetrated by a whisper just in front of you, "Dad, ask Jim if he's got his penny." And yet we have never been able to see the answer to an argument which Dr. Arthur Robinson used to bring forward. He maintained that the wish to be by yourself when you are worshipping is at bottom a heathen wish, the desire for some secret mystery of your own. The Christian thing is to want to be with the other Christians, all of them. Can this honestly be met? After all, the eight o'clock service is not likely to disappear. You can go to it. I can go to it. "Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant." But for the rest a pastoral motive (it happens that the words were actually used by a converted shepherd) suggests another policy. "I will lead on softly, according to the pace of the cattle that is before me and according to the pace of the children." Or, if something from the Christian part of Holy Writ be found more compelling, will not "my lords," the devout persons who like the hour of 8 or 7, hearken to the voice of innumerable souls who are as yet unawakened, unconverted, who nevertheless dumbly put forward the reminder, "God having provided some better thing concerning us," *peri hemon*, of a kind that brings us in, "that apart from us they should not be made perfect."

HISTORY AND HISTORIC CHRISTIANITY

I

"THE point on which we require more than either Augustine or Aquinas gave or could give mankind is especially History—the historic sense." Since Von Hügel so wrote, evidence has accumulated that he was profoundly right.

Of recent years much attention has been concentrated on the problem of the meaning of history. This has been the case in the realm of science, and in, for example, the writings of A. N. Whitehead, Lloyd Morgan, and A. S. Eddington terms with historical implications, such as "event," "occasion," and "actuality," have disclosed the objective nature of history, while in philosophy Gentile and S. Alexander are prominent among those for whom the meaning of history is decisive. More recently the volume *Philosophy and History* (Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer), O.U.P., 1936, reveals the wide and important bearings of the problem of history.

This orientation of thought has, further, had a profound repercussion on the philosophy of religion, and Mr. H. G. Wood's Hulsean volume and Dr. Clement Webb's *Historical Element in Religion* have been moved by this influence. Mention should also be made of the valuable contribution by the Archbishop of York in, *e.g.*, the inaugural lecture of the Charles Gore Memorial Lectures.* Nor is this issue merely academic, for the dividing line between the two most diverging attitudes of mind in religion, at the present time, lies in a difference of estimate of the significance of religion in what is for Christianity its most crucial ground. While many relegate the whole realm of history to the "vast driftings of the cosmic weather" or, with Troeltsch, as "welling up from abysmal depths," others isolate the meaning of the events which are at the foundation of the Christian religion from anything in itself significant in the nature of history—Otto and Barth exemplify this trend. On a broad survey it is not too much to say that while enquiry as to the place of history as a significant concept has come to the front in philosophical enquiry and is the dominant consideration at the present time for the philosophy of religion, the actual concentration thereon has presented us with a profound and disturbing problem.

Historic Christianity, in its systematic unity, has always

* Printed as an article, "Christianity as a Historical Religion," in THEOLOGY, January, 1936.

been, and is today especially, liable to attrition from two opposing tendencies. On the one hand, its distinctive content is reduced by those who disparage or neglect history, while, on the other hand, its inclusive unity is obscured by those who with the sword of " experience only " cut the knot uniting the intelligence with the knowledge of God. Through the first influence Christianity shrinks to a mere collection of ideas, a variant of philosophical idealism. By the other it is left to the problematic support of an " incommunicable conviction " which, for lack of any criterion or rationale, varies from " group " to " group," if not from mood to mood. The way out of this impasse can only come by means of inclusion of the meaning of history, and especially the historical features in the total complex of Christianity, within the synthesis of an inclusive system of philosophical theology. Dr. Clement Webb has marked out " the problem of the relation of abstract or universal significance to concrete or historical fact " as a problem " in fighting shy of which philosophy does but refuse," so to say, " to take its last hurdle," and such a consideration has a decisive application to Christian thought.

Established custom and a useful, though merely conventional, division of subject-matter, obscures the point at issue. For the severance between what is described as natural theology or scientific theism and the study of religions in their historical commitments and implications, there is some justification and an obvious advantage for classroom purposes. But there is always a prior question in this matter. There is a direct connection between the primary grounds of belief and the witness of the religions of history which only an adequate conception of the meaning of history can over-span. It is by means of an appreciation of this connection that we may hope to reach the root of the matter in the relation of history and theology. Concerning this we may with advantage recall Von Hügel's claim: " In actual life Natural or Rational Religion or Pure Theism exists as the mirage after the setting or the dawn after the rising of an historical religion . . . as a set of propositions affected by philosophers who, in spite of their frequent disdain of all sects and churches, derive both their materials and their understanding of these materials from these despised teachings and historical traditions."

The separation of the significance of history from " the intelligence " is exhibited in acute form in the " theology of crisis " of Karl Barth. At the foundation of his outlook is the claim that the power and effect of religion is given in an invasive impact " discontinuous " both in fact and import with any " knowledge of the universe." Here we have a definite con-

centration upon what is affirmed to be non-rational, and no mental ingenuity can make this to be other than a phase of subjectivism. Despite whatever gains such a view may seem to provide for those whose chief desire is for a tower of refuge from obstinate questionings, it must to many prove to be no little loss that the method whereby Christianity in its main stream has sought to disclose its heritage of metaphysical truth must be abandoned, together with the hope of commending its content to those for whom the intelligence is the candle of the Lord. Over against this irrationalism and subjectivism must be set the weighty consideration advanced by Dr. O. C. Quick: "In contending that there must be a genuine truth about the real world which can be expressed in terms intelligible to us, we are fighting not only for our own intellectual lives, but also for a metaphysical principle which is implicit in Catholic Christianity." And to this there is one important corollary. Certainly Barth has stressed, though without due regard to the rightful claims of intelligence, a significant feature of vital religion: but that very feature raises the problem of history's meaning in its most acute form. The solution of Barth's own problem does not lie within the scope of Barth's subjectivism.

Do not these two elements in actual religion, experienced invasive impact (historically conferred gift), and, on the other hand, intelligence, the spiritual reason, await the fusion of an inclusive outlook? Can they not be related in such a way as to conserve the valuable content of both? Can we not include a reasoned view of history, of the historic event in its worth for the spiritual life, within an inclusive view of values and meanings? An element omitted from a synthesis hammers it, as it were, from outside. A religion which counts upon its constitutive experience must pass beyond irrationalism in every effort to extend its influence. If we are to do justice to the inherent missionary genius of Christianity we must keep two things in conjunction: we must assert the God-given character of our religion, while at the same time we seek to shew how this, its ground and charter, stands to reason. We are not able to do without the constraint of both these claims. Nor is a similar tension and conjunction absent from inward and individual religious experience, for while sincerity calls upon us to prove all things and hold fast the good, it is requisite for the soul's health to acknowledge that "not in dialectic has it pleased God to place the redemption of His people."

Though Barth claims to confront the soul with religion's positive content, he does, in point of fact, but exemplify that specialization of interest which has recently marked much

philosophical enquiry, though now on the wane. The water-tight separation of our judgments of value from views of reality which Ritschl, following Schleiermacher, affirmed, and which finds expression also in Otto's "hidden source of numinous feelings and sacred fears," reaches its climax in the "theology of crisis." In all these religious interpretation takes on a protective colouring from its environment. The Kantian dualism, its severance of religion, in Hermann's phrase, "from any dangerous union with demonstrable reality," controls all these trends of opinion. It may be that these tendencies have, during a period when knowledge was more and more restricted to the physico-mathematical field, secured a foothold for religious convictions. Also it may be these conceptions serve to emphasize that contrast between God and the creatures of God which is an essential element in spiritual perception. But such separations cannot permanently serve these interests. They overlook the unity of the self in the conjunction of thought, feeling, and will. Nor can such separations aid those who, while not conscious of possessing any prominent religious sense, may none the less recognize and wish to appropriate the religious attitude of mind. Such considerations prompt the reflection that in these outlooks the problem of the specific character of religion is not solved, and that the situation which they disclose calls for further investigation. The demand for a reasoned view of history and of its place and meaning in and for historic Christianity remains.

One consideration arising from the nature of the self bears decisively on this issue. The impulse towards totality and unification is the very spirit of logic. If neglected it tends to reassert itself. It is so doing at the present time and, in consequence, constructive thought now tends to pass beyond the materialistic view. This has a profound bearing upon the meaning of valid experience. And this is especially true concerning the specific character of the religious sentiment. Religion is not one stirring of the spirit among many, nor is it the activity of one separable department of the self. Religion is the direction of the total soul towards the One infinite and eternal. This discernment is essential for Christianity, and is implied in its claim to finality and universality. The Christian religion lives in the light of wholeness and objectivity, and it abates somewhat of its specific genius whenever it allies itself with theories of irrationalism and discontinuity. A rationale of the place of history in historic Christianity is called for on account of the implications of the Christian gospel.

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II

To take up again the main theme of this essay: when once we recognize the dependence of religions on history and institutions, we are confronted with a problem on account of their competing claims. Is it possible to attain a criterion or standard measure of value of religion? If we are unable to attain such a criterion the comparative study of religions cannot attain scientific validity. In so far as such studies go forward at all, they must do so in virtue of the untheorized application of a criterion: or no two or three would ever get together to see daylight on their religious differences. There is, however, a means of testing the comparative value of religions if there is a problem of religion itself in its utmost generality and definite conditions of its effective solution.

Perhaps it is not impossible to arrive at the essential features of the problem of religion. To do so we must attempt a generalized description of the situation of the self in the conditions of its attainment of stability and value. In view of all the possibilities of a conflict of values and of the necessity for the self to reach and maintain its own spiritual standing, it must, in its essential character, be active, active in regard to the total situation in which it both discovers and affirms itself. Values do not fly loose; they exist to be recognized, conserved, and obeyed. They are objective and given that they may be appropriated. To be a self means to subject to an effort and a task.

This conation indicates the essential form of the problem and enterprise of the spiritual life: here also we come upon its dependence upon history. At the religious level, the constraint of the ideal becomes response to the initiative and operation of God.

The situation of the self in the conditions of its stability and worth has been thus set forth by Troeltsch: "Freedom and creation constitute the secret of personality, a creation which takes place in a devotion towards emancipation from merely accidental and natural determination." A more precise definition of the task to which the individual is called would include some description of the general character of objectively given religion and some criterion of value among existing religions; for a religion which failed to elucidate the task and to provide effective impulse towards its accomplishment would be inadequate, and a religion would be adequate and intelligible in the degree in which, from its own resources, it could meet these conditions. A criterion so founded has objective validity.

By means of this perception we extend the concept of

intelligible energy beyond the confines of natural science. We affirm regarding both the scientific and the religious realms that intelligible energy means history. So we pass beyond " the endless movement of the stream of cosmic life welling up from unknown depths " (Troeltsch). We recognize with Rickert that all phenomena have a two-sided reference—to Nature in respect of qualities common to their class, to history in their individuality—and we appropriate as the general principle of the historical sciences the concepts of worths, ends, values, and norms. These ends and values are both disclosed and actualized, as objects and for our apprehension, through individual acts and persons. History is significant and intelligible through the values expressed and the ends realized in concrete situations; its general principle is teleology, the concretion of significant events.

The criterion of religious value does not arise as a mere subjective reference, but from the objective and given implications of the spiritual life. Its application, through the place therein of significant action, enables us to mark out a main route of religious revelation. The nature of religion is exhibited in the Israelite rather than in the Greek civilization. In the words of A. E. J. Rawlinson (in the volume *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*): " It is not only the case that the beginnings of Christianity cannot be historically understood except in relation to the Jewish environment, . . . it is also permanently the case that ' salvation ' is from the Jews."

III

Viewed historically, as soon as the Christian faith becomes aware of its own content it claims that its own distinctive knowledge of God is continuous in principle with such knowledge gained outside its own sphere. It ascribes a speaking " by the prophets " to the same Spirit " speaking by the Son." Nor is it necessary to dwell upon identical implications—for example, Hebrews and St. John's Gospel. And when we recall the large place in the earlier stages of revelation of a knowledge of God by consideration of the earth and sky, a knowledge which at least claims to be knowledge of the universe, it seems impossible to force the discernments of religion into the moulds of " discontinuity." Christianity is *sui generis*, not because its own special disclosure is discontinuous with knowledge of God through nature and through history, but because it consummates this knowledge and is more of the same kind. It consummates by finding compressed and concentrated in one supremely effective instance that meaningful action of God which charac-

terizes religion of the main route. Just as it is not in the idiom of discontinuity that we can set forth the general relations of science and religion, so it is not in that idiom that the distinctive genius of Christianity can be expressed. But those relations and that genius can be set forth by the principle of the continuity of revelation. The interpretation thereof lies within the implications of a Christian and Catholic metaphysics of history, and if we will explore our heritage and the range of our concepts, *potency*, *energy*, *actuality*, and *pure act*, and find in history the field of operation and manifestation of significant deed, we may in the contemporary situation for thought and with the idiom of Christian philosophy go in and possess much land.

Based on the perception that history is *ratio* and *logos*, this paper contends that the nexus between history and religion is in the conception of significant act. It is the action itself which, being intelligible and significant, becomes datum for interpretation. More concretely, the revealing acts and persons afford material for knowledge. We see this unfolding of meaning, recognized as response to the continuous action of God, going forward along the whole course of religious revelation. It is the key to the connection between the Old and New Testaments, and, in particular, it affords the means of statement of that connection in contemporary light.

The conjunction of historicity* and finality is the crux of Christian apologetics. It is futile to consider the relations of Christianity with philosophical theology without concentration upon this issue, for apart from it there is little of any note left to discuss. Historic Christianity is emptied of all distinctive content if reduced to a varying estimate of its possible contribution to an amalgam or synthesis of " the religions of the world." But equally a case having such implications becomes either reason's ultimate affirmation or its supreme challenge.

Such a claim is not even arguable (it is questionable if it can be even stated) on any hypothesis of " discontinuity." It is arguable only if there is, as has been contended in this essay, an objectively grounded criterion of value in religion. By the argument advanced so far we place the concepts of redemptive and enlightening action, with all that they imply concerning history, within the definition of specific religion. In other words, we overcome " polymorphism in religion " (Troeltsch's phrase) by a definition of religion's actual problem. The

* " It (Christianity) is historical in a degree quite peculiar among the religions of the world. For its very essence is bound up with its historical origin, and its activity is that of an historical movement moulding history from within " (The Archbishop of York, inaugural lecture of the Charles Gore Memorial Lectures, 1935).

implication of the Christian claim regarding this problem is that in the work and Person of Christ it is solved with complete effectiveness. Herein is both the culmination and the concentration of the significant action of God. The revealing action has the same relevance for theology as it has for religion. To set forth the actual working of the principle of revelation would be to outline the history of doctrine. A universal religion must have a broad-writ meaning, and its theology must exemplify throughout the principle of its religious power and appeal.

The bearing of this principle upon the material of Christian knowledge is, of course, profound. Here at the point of religious finality the actualizing influence continues to be datum. Time (or space) will only allow one or two examples (other applications will be found in my book *Christianity and History*). For instance, the doctrine of the Person of Christ is not imposed, *ab extra*, upon the experience of the Christian religion; it arises from grasp of the significance of the act which founds and maintains the religion itself. To quote what I have written on this point in the volume cited, " The objective fact is interpreted within the experience which it creates, and at no point does it cease to be the object which is thus subjectively appropriated," and in agreement with this comment by Father L. S. Thornton in his book *The Incarnate Lord*, " When every allowance has been made for such influences " (as the whole wisdom-logos group of conceptions and later in the Neo-Platonic atmosphere of Alexandria) " it remains true that the doctrine has its roots in a definite historical revelation interpreted through the medium of a distinctive order of experience."

The ultimate knowledge of God is gained through grasp of the meaning of revealing action. Central in this discernment is the ascription to God of fulness of life in Himself. As a result of recognition of His invasive and historic deed the distinctively Christian view can be affirmed. If in actual process of history we discern the putting forth of the energy of God, actualizing our capacities and bringing us to Himself, we do but find the manifestation of that which He can confer, which pre-eminently abides in the Ground and Source of all good.

F. W. Butler.

THE STATE OF PERFECTION

It is sometimes suggested that the attainment of perfection necessarily involves the acceptation of a certain mode of life to the rigid exclusion of other modes. This, for instance, is what is implied by Dr. Koch when he makes a distinction between " eternal life as the reward of ordinary good conduct, and a treasure in heaven laid up for those who sacrifice everything to God." The Christian may therefore choose between " ordinary good conduct " and " complete sacrifice," but if he chooses the former he cannot hope for " treasure in heaven," only " eternal life." Thus a distinction is made between two types of perfection which are called respectively higher and lower. Pourrat also suggests that those who cannot for any reason, however laudable or compelling, actually abandon the things of this world, are finally precluded from attaining the highest degree of perfection, and so must forfeit the " recompence reserved for the Apostles and those who following their example abandon all."

On the other hand, St. Thomas Aquinas says that " men enter into the state of perfection, not as professing to be perfect, but as professing that they aim at perfection." Essentially the state of perfection consists not in absolute renunciation of property, but in the readiness to renounce it if loyalty to God demands such renunciation. It is the purpose of this article to examine the Synoptic Gospels and determine from the data there supplied whether it may be regarded as possible for men to attain perfection in their ordinary vocations of life.

It must be admitted that the general tone of our Lord's teaching does give the impression that total renunciation of this world's goods is necessary before men can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. " Poverty," says Nitti, " was an indispensable condition for entering the Kingdom of Heaven." And this assertion is supported by Biblical scholars of very different schools of thought.

Bishop Gore recognized to the full the extreme demands which Christ made for His immediate followers. In his opinion detachment from all normal interests and claims of society was not only an element, but a most prominent element in our Lord's teaching. It is important to notice, however, his explanation of our Lord's extreme demands. He says that " our Lord was dealing with a particular situation. He was sure that no general movement of reform was possible. . . . He must create a wholly new group . . . with its actual spirit, its tradition, its expectations and its objects of admiration.

That explains His intense insistence on total detachment for His disciples. . . . And after the foundation of the first churches we note that the apostolic epistles make no claim, similar to our Lord's, for actual detachment. There the assumption is that, while there are special vocations involving total renunciation, the mass of church people will be living the normal life of married people with families, good members of the Christian community and good citizens of the Empire" (*New Commentary*, ii., pp. 288, 289). According to Gore, then, the renunciation which was demanded of some of our Lord's disciples was only required because of the nature of the special circumstances. This suggests that the content of Christian perfection is relative to the needs and circumstances of the moment.

If this explanation is the true one, there seems very little justification for the sweeping statement of Bultman (*Jesus*, p. 81): "There are no relative standards in Jesus' teaching." And it is plain from other passages in Bultman's book that he regards it as impossible for a man to be a true disciple of Christ unless complete renunciation has been made. "Jesus knows nothing of human ideals, of the enjoyment of natural capacities of any worth in man as such. . . . The one thing of value in man is the attitude he adopts at the moment of decision." "There is no interimsethic" (pp. 51-52, 117).

The Apocalyptic school represented by Albert Schweitzer endeavours to explain our Lord's insistence on renunciation by arguing that He did not expect this world order to last very long, and that the Kingdom would be ushered in during His own lifetime, or immediately after His death. Consequently earthly goods and domestic ties have little or no value. Schweitzer definitely asserts that "the teaching of the historical Jesus was purely and exclusively world renouncing." And in one passage he supports the very claim made by the Roman Catholic authors quoted: "For the loftier stations it was necessary to have proved oneself in persecution and suffering" (*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 247, 364).

It was in the tones of irony and from the standpoint of perfect serenity that our Lord, according to Schweitzer, said: "If any man come to Me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple." Before accepting this explanation the passage should be compared with another: "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me. . . ." The meaning of which is surely that when two affections come into collision, the weaker must give way, and though a man ought not to cease to love (Matt. v. 44), yet he

must act as if he hated, disobey, and it may be desert those to whom he is bound by natural ties, that he may obey the supernatural calling. There seems therefore more justification for Dr. R. N. Flew's statement that " both the joy in the goodness of the present order and the self-sacrifice which renounces family ties for the higher good are set within the eschatological framework. They both belong to an " interimsethic," since all Christian morality is ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. Viewed from the divine side the life of this world is an interim between creation and consummation, between the beginning of human history and the end of the temporal order. But in this interpretation the original meaning of Schweitzer's phrase, as implying world-negating ethic, is transcended " (*The Idea of Perfection*, p. 31).

We may profitably allow something to the Apocalyptic outlook, though not on the ground that this present world order is either valueless or that it was regarded by Jesus as rapidly coming to an end. It was necessary for the first heralds of the Gospel to renounce everything absolutely and literally, though we are not told that Peter was required to give up his wife. This renunciation was necessary for the vocation of the apostles and in view of the special circumstances, but there is no reason to suppose that such renunciation was demanded by Christ of all His followers, or that those who made such renunciation thereby won for themselves greater reward. The principle of the Gospel is contained in the words, " When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do." That is to say, if a man receives a call, if a definite obligation is laid upon a man by God, and clearly recognized as such by conscience, then no such call can be refused without grave sin. But in obeying the call he is doing no more than what is commanded, and has no cause to consider himself as more holy than the man who has not received such a call, but who nevertheless is doing his duty in that state of life to which he has been called (*Cf.* Kirk, *The Vision of God*, pp. 517, 518).

It is the writer's contention that Christ regarded perfection as being based upon this principle of obligation, but that the content of the obligation is relative to the circumstances and spiritual capabilities of the moral agent. The existence of the obligation, which is absolute, depends upon the obligatory act being a means to the realization of a good which is relative to the agent. This allows the possibility of perfection being attained in the ordinary avocations of life. It also brings more reality into those passages in the Gospels which refer to the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. By the

" Kingdom " we mean the rule of God, which is realized wherever God's name is sanctified and His will done. When that Kingdom comes, perfection is naturally attained. And the Kingdom must have been regarded as a possibility in this present world or Christ would never have taught His disciples to say, " Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, as in Heaven so on earth." Moulton, commenting on Matt. xii. 28, says that when *φθάνειν* is followed by a preposition, it means, not to anticipate, but to arrive. That is to say, the arrival of the rule of God coincided with the ministry of Christ, and that it was open to men to enter into the Kingdom and live the perfect life in this world.

Complementary to these passages which imply the possibility of perfection during the present order of things, we may notice that many of our Lord's parables allow for the idea of growth and development. The parables of nature shew that every human soul must grow of itself, and in dependence on the environment in which it is placed; that the truest growth of the spirit is natural, to the exclusion of any deliberate self-culture. Since growth is a property of space and time, these parables represent God's rule as operating in the present age on the same principle as Christ's own life was developed, but which has always been regarded as perfect in every stage of growth. Bultman cannot see any idea of slow growth in the parables of the seed growing secretly, the mustard seed, or the leaven. The first, he says, refers only to the supernatural character of conversion; the second and third illustrate the overwhelming power of the coming of the Kingdom. He, however, disposes in the same summary manner of those passages which indicate Christ's love for and interest in the natural joys and possessions of life. On the other hand, most will agree that not even the " Poverello of Assisi was more friendly to the sights and sounds of nature than Jesus Himself." When Christ's demand for renunciation is placed in its proper context, the general impression created by His teaching is that He demands the entire subordination of riches and other material possessions to the spiritual needs of the individual and of society, but in so far as material things advance, or do not hinder, the coming of the rule of God, they may be enjoyed by men living in the world.

The Gospels give us principles of action which every Christian must apply and reapply to his social conduct. But just because they embody motives and principles, and do not give us legal enactments, they must appeal in the first instance to the individual. The application of the principles of the Gospels, that is to say, is essentially relative to each person's capacities, needs and environment.

There are a few passages which at first sight would seem to support the idea that if material pleasures of life are not wholly evil, yet the way of renunciation is not only easier to attain perfection, but also more meritorious than the normal life of men. We will consider these passages.

This article was opened with a quotation from the *Handbook of Moral Theology*, by Koch and Preuss, in which a distinction was made between eternal life as the reward of ordinary good conduct, and treasure in Heaven for those who renounce everything to serve God. To some extent the distinction finds support from the New Testament. The Matthean version of the story of the man who had great possessions contains within it this very distinction. And as the distinction has been perpetuated in the writings of many of the Christian Fathers, we must see what grounds there are for appealing to this text in support of what is generally called the double standard, which, if correct, would destroy our contention that perfection is open to all in whatever state of life a man may be. Our position is that stated by B. S. Easton, who says "that the two levels of Salvation doctrine is foreign to the teaching of Jesus" (*The Gospel before the Gospels*, p. 108).

As St. Mark's Gospel is generally considered the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels we will make that the basis of our discussion. The text of Mark x. 23-26 shews that there is some hesitation about the original words of Christ. In verse 24 we find the qualification, "how hard it is for them that *trust* in riches," thus mitigating the absoluteness of Jesus' statement about the *possession* of riches in verse 23. The impression that the qualification has been inserted by a copyist is strengthened when it is seen that both ℵ and B omit the words "for them that trust in riches." Furthermore, both Matthew and Luke omit the phrase. Thus, then, a pious copyist dealt with a matter "too hard to bear": he made a compromise. Matthew was faced with the same difficulty, but in dealing with the story he introduced the distinction referred to above. According to his version riches are still considered to be a barrier, and the better course is to get rid of them, but the difficulty is not altogether unsurmountable, because he makes our Lord to say that the young man would still enter into life if he kept the commandments without surrendering his riches (Matt. xix. 17); to be *perfect* he must sell all (verse 21). St. Luke leaves the absolute requirement without any attempt to modify it, as we should expect he would (see Kirk, *The Vision of God*, Note C, p. 479).

It seems, then, that the original words of our Lord did contain the absolute statement that the mere possession of

riches was an obstacle to the winning of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is indeed one of those passages which have led people to think that our Lord always demanded complete renunciation. There is no reason to deny that such an absolute demand was made in this instance, but, in recognizing that, it is also necessary to assert that there is no evidence here that our Lord sanctioned the idea that one manner of life merits greater reward than the other in all cases.

So while accepting the absoluteness of our Lord's demand of the young man, which was essential to perfection in his case, we do not think that there is any justification for extending the requirement to a universal principle. In the case of Zacchæus, who was commended by our Lord, no such absolute claim was made, which proves that the circumstances altered the spiritual treatment required to attain the Kingdom of Heaven. It is possible to interpret the parable of the unjust steward in such a way that our Lord actually recommends the use of money in winning souls for the Kingdom. Our Lord says: "Make to yourselves friends by the mammon of unrighteousness." Convert money swiftly and unhesitatingly to your own purposes, the purpose of the eternal world.

From this we are justified in saying that our Lord made no universal demand for the renunciation of the world which would make the attainment of the Kingdom of Heaven, or perfection, impossible for many people. Inability to embrace certain ways of living may arise in many ways, our God-given temperament, or the position in which God in His Providence has placed us. Nor does there seem to be any evidence sufficient to shew that our Lord made a distinction between the different ways of living. He does shew by the parable of the sower, in which the seed is represented as bringing forth thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and an hundred-fold, that the degree of perfection attained may differ according to circumstances. Nevertheless, it is perfection for the person concerned. Perfection is open to all, but the content of the perfection reached is relative to the circumstances.

EDWIN KENNETH LEE.

A GREAT DICTATOR

ABSOLUTE government has become the fashion of the age, and although the demand for dictators has sprung from the complications of economic conditions, a marked feature of their rule is their hostility to religious people and the tendency of the religious to honour as saints those who have died in

resistance to tyrants. A man of religion who became a dictator may well prove worthy of study at the present time, and the aim of this paper is to ask why Muhammad became a secular ruler, and whether from a spiritual point of view the change was an advance or a decline.

Muhammad was born at Mecca in Arabia in A.D. 570, the son of shabby-genteel parents with influential connections. Left an orphan at an early age, he was brought up by an uncle, and in due course entered upon a commercial career as the caravan-manager and steward of Khadijah, a rich widow whom he afterwards married. Up to the age of forty he was remarkable only for his gravity and commercial honesty. But at this age his religious spirit began to stir, and he found help in solitude, passing long hours in a cave not far from Mecca, where he pondered over the mysteries of the Divine Being, and sought some better expression of religion than the moribund and unspiritual polytheism of Arabia could offer. These meditations and fasts, acting upon a physique inclined to epilepsy, issued in visions of God's messenger, Gabriel, coming to him with a Revelation of Saving Truth. Muhammad became convinced through these visions that God is One. The Gods many and Lords many of his Meccan relatives were nothing, and the One only Allah bade him proclaim this truth to all men.

> "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
> Say: He is God alone:
> God the Eternal!
> He begetteth not, and He is not begotten;
> And there is none like unto Him."
>
> (Sura 112.)

Such ideas as these were certain to separate Muhammad from his relatives at Mecca, for they lived in no small part on the profits of the local idolatries.

> "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
> Say: O ye Unbelievers!
> I worship not that which ye worship,
> And ye do not worship that which I worship.
> I shall never worship that which ye worship,
> Neither will ye worship that which I worship.
> To you be your Religion; to me my Religion."
>
> (Sura 109.)

This separation developed gradually into active hostility. Muhammad's person was safe from violence owing to the influence of his powerful kinsmen, who could not overlook their family obligations even towards one whose doctrines threatened their livelihood; but any who followed him had to face indignities and persecution. There was a time when Muhammad advised

his flock to escape to Abyssinia. On another occasion he suggested that a Moslem might conceal his faith if he were in danger. Once the Prophet even compromised for a moment his message of the Unity of God, for he allowed of the Meccan deities, Al-Lat, Al-Ozza, and Manat, that "their intercession might be hoped for with God." But he quickly withdrew the compromise, and the passage in Sura 53 which refers to this incident runs thus: "Do you see Al-Lat and Al-Ozza and Manat the third idol besides. . . . These are mere names: ye and your fathers named them thus: God hath not sent down any warranty in their regard."

In this early period we must recognize a genuine religious impulse. Muhammad at this point in his career was the Prophet of a spiritual truth, and he had no other method of propagating his message than that of simple preaching. The Prophet did not go to war, or suggest any kind of conversion by force. He shewed little sign even of the organizing power which he certainly possessed, in part because his followers were yet very few in number and were not able to set up public worship. The Suras of this period contained precepts about conduct, but these dealt mainly with personal morality, and were not cast in the form of laws for a community, as were the Suras of the Medina period. We can reasonably regard Muhammad at this stage as the recipient of a true religious inspiration, with a possibility in him of advance to a deeper and more thoroughly spiritual consciousness of God.

In the latter half of the twelve years of ministry at Mecca, however, there was a change. The principle of Islam, submission to Allah, hardened into an ever increasing hatred of unbelievers. Muhammad developed a power of invective, and began to write lurid descriptions of Hell.

"Did the Infidels but know the time when they shall not be able to keep the fire of Hell from their faces or from their backs, neither shall they be helped!

But it shall come on them suddenly and shall confound them; and they shall not be able to put it back, neither shall they be respited." (Sura 21.)

"But the people of the left hand—Oh! how wretched shall be the people of the left hand!

Amid pestilential winds and in scalding water, and in the shadow of a black smoke, not cool and horrid to behold!" (Sura 56.)

Muhammad's idea of God in this second period did not fulfil the earlier promise of development, but he entered instead upon long accounts of Old and New Testament stories, often garbled, to prove his own doctrine and apostleship, and to encourage the favour of Jews and Christians. He must have learned these

stories from human sources, for they belong mostly to Jewish and Christian apocryphal writings. Further, in the form in which they come from the Prophet, they are laboured and complicated, as if their composition had involved much careful thought. Yet the Suras in which they appear were produced, like the earlier proclamations of Divine Unity, as the direct unsolicited Revelation of God. We have not sufficient evidence to accuse Muhammad, as his opponents did, of deliberate deceit. Perhaps the final form of these argumentative Suras came to him when his conscious mind was more or less overshadowed by his unconscious mind, so that he forgot, or neglected to notice, the influence of his preliminary studies. Yet, surely, a candid mind would have marked some difference between these and the earlier Suras, and that is just what Muhammad never did.

In A.D. 622 came the Hegira, or flight from Mecca to Medina. There is no direct record of this event in the Koran. The "Night Journey" Sura only shews that Muhammad was thinking of a departure from Mecca, and does not deal with specific plans, while the earliest Medina Suras came some considerable time after the Hegira. This is unfortunate. Moslems have rightly regarded the Hegira as one of the most important events in the history of their religion, for it marks the point at which the Prophet became the secular ruler, and Suras about it would, no doubt, have told us much of his personal attitude towards the change. It is hard to resist the belief that Muhammad knew beforehand what he would find at Medina. The party in that city which had already accepted his doctrine had done so largely for political reasons. They were struggling against other factions in the community; and they knew that the assistance of the strong personality of Muhammad, to say nothing of his body of followers steeled by persecution, would enable them to establish their supremacy in the State. So they invited him to come on the only terms he was likely to accept. He was to rule the city, and to arrange its religion as he pleased. But on their side they expected that he would so rule as to make submission, both religious and civil, worth their while. And Muhammad accepted. This was, surely, the compromise of a man who had fallen from the Grace of God and faltered in his faith in Divine Power. The long persecution at Mecca had, in fact, done more than embitter the Prophet against unbelievers; it had also led him to rest less in the attitude of submission to God and patient abiding of His good time, which his early visions had taught him.

Muhammad ruled at Medina as any ordinary Arab despot would have done. He organized raids and warfare which had

no loftier aim than plunder, and he did not scruple to lead his men into battle, shewing himself personally fearless and a competent soldier. His armies were not always successful, but he instilled a fiery fanaticism into his troops which made them dare any danger, and the booty of the raids, together with the promise of heavenly luxuries for all who should fall, made the enterprises worth while for any who might have been unmoved by a purely religious appeal. The warfare was accompanied by much shrewd social legislation. The inflexible and abusive Prophet now undertook careful calculations of the lengths in reform to which his Arabs might be induced to go. His marriage laws, and even his regulations for the Fast of Ramadan, are marked by the accommodation of a politician. As his power at Medina grew stronger, he also became steadily more anti-Semitic and anti-Christian. In his personal habits Muhammad remained simple, except for the establishment of a harem which more than doubled the number of women he allowed to his followers. That he was highly sexed seems beyond doubt; but we must allow something for the need of a male heir, and something also for the necessity of shewing himself different from his followers in some way which they could appreciate. The Prophet produced Suras in which he defended all this, and made for them the old claim of Divine Revelation. But the messages came so exactly at the right moment, and so strongly supported the Prophet's own interest, that preparation by his own mind and hand seems to be the only possible explanation of them. The Medina Suras have usually little or nothing of the fervour of the early deliverances at Mecca, and the threats against the disobedient and unbelieving were now as much concerned with immediate punishment in the world as with the penalties of Hell. There was also less vituperation, for the Prophet was now a despot who could inflict whatever he threatened.

"When ye encounter the infidels, strike off their heads till ye have made a great slaughter among them, and of the rest make fast the fetters." (Sura 47.)

"And let those who transgress his command beware, lest present trouble befall them, or a grievous chastisement hereafter." (Sura 24.)

Muhammad was increasingly jealous in this last period of his own standing and authority. The expression "God and His Apostle" appears more frequently in the Medina Suras, and in one place epithets are applied to the Prophet which elsewhere are used of God only.

"Now hath an Apostle come unto you from among yourselves; your iniquities press heavily upon him. He is careful over you, and towards the faithful, compassionate, merciful." (Sura 9.)

At the same time Muhammad never forgot his first aims, for he really did try to establish the religion of Allah in his new home. One of his first acts at Medina was to build a mosque, to which his own apartments were attached, and he normally led the prayers and preached in it in person. He organized a scheme of worship with daily prayers, feasts, fasts, and almsgiving. When Mecca at length fell into the hands of the Moslems, he made the Pilgrimage to the Kaaba in person, and told the Faithful to regard the institution as a part of the system of worship. This was not political compromise; it was just sheer local patriotism on Muhammad's part which led him to overlook the fact that the Pilgrimage was nothing better than undiluted heathenism. The parts of the Medina Suras which deal with these matters undoubtedly strike the loftiest note of all those assigned to this period. There is a pleading earnestness and a persuasive tone about them which prove that the Prophet had not lost entirely his old magnanimity. And in the last days of his life, when almost all Arabia had surrendered to his armies, he shed much of his violence, and was once more the Muhammad of the first spiritual visions. On June 8, A.D. 632, he died quietly with words of peace and hope on his lips: "Eternity of Paradise . . . Pardon . . . The Glorious Associates on High."

Was Muhammad's career a success from a religious point of view? Did he bring to men by his movement towards dictatorship and secular power the salvation of which he dreamed in his first visions? The answer must be in the negative. The great truth of the Unity of God and its corollary, the abolition of idolatry, were, indeed, firmly established in the Moslem system. And we must admit that the measures of moral reformation initiated by this shrewd and practical Prophet were successful among the Arabs, whose fierce passions he did guide and restrain to some more worthy ends than aimless lust and violence. Yet the saving truth never developed into a Gospel: Allah, the Compassionate and Merciful, never became to Muhammad the loving Saviour, as the Bible understands that phrase. This was failure at the very point where the most vital issues of religion were at stake, and Moslems have always had to turn to other sources for the satisfaction of their need for intercession with God and the experience of forgiveness of sin. And, surely, it is not too much to suggest that we may trace this tragic failure to what we must call the Prophet's downward drift into secular despotism. The story of Muhammad teaches the lesson that the rule even of a spiritually-minded despot cannot issue in a true Kingdom of God.

J. W. PARKER.

THE SPORTING PARSON OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE average Englishman has always had a liking for the sporting parson—partly because he dislikes an effeminate Christianity, and partly, no doubt, because sport is one of the few pursuits which he can possess in common with a parish priest, whose work lies so wholly outside his ordinary occupations.

Religious circles, on the other hand, are inclined to eye the sporting parson somewhat askance, especially if he sports with a gun or a horse, instead of with a cricket bat or a football. Why such a distinction should be felt is difficult to see, or why the modern bishop should feel a little uneasy to hear that his clergy are addicted to hunting and shooting, when he would heartily approve of curates in general mixing in cricket or football.

This change in outlook has taken place somewhat recently; did not Charles Kingsley as Rector of Eversley ride to hounds and raise his voice in favour of foxhunting as a manly sport? And was not Jack Russell one of the most popular parsons in the West of England?

In the eighteenth century the hunting clergyman caused no uneasy feeling. English religion in the second half of the century was at a very low ebb, and if a parish priest took his few Sunday services and was kind to his sick parishioners, little more was expected of him, and he was free to spend his weekdays as he chose. About the middle of the eighteenth century the wearing of the canonical cassock and bands fell into disuse, and this would help to break down the feeling of distinction between priest and people. The character of the eighteenth-century clergy has been much debated. It is certain that most of them had little spiritual zeal, and that many were intemperate in habits and coarse in manners. The parishes, for lack of intercommunication, were isolated from one another; literature and journalism did not circulate freely; it was only too easy for the average parson to be little more refined than his bucolic squire and his illiterate parishioners. When John Wesley was on his evangelizing itinerations, it was not uncommon for the parish priest, sometimes inflamed by drink, to lead a violent mob of parishioners against him. In his *Journal*, for instance, of May, 1743, Wesley writes:

"While I was speaking, a gentleman rode up very drunk, and after many unseemly and bitter words, laboured much to ride over some of the people. I was surprised to hear he was a neighbouring clergyman.

And this too is a man zealous for the Church! Ah, poor Church! if it stood in need of such defenders!"

A fortnight earlier he had entered in his *Journal*:

"At our inn I found a good-natured man, sitting and drinking in the chimney corner; with whom I began a discourse, suspecting nothing less than that he was the minister of the parish. Before we parted I spoke exceedingly plainly. And he received it in love; begging he might see me when I came that way again."

Both these accounts shew the parson as indistinguishable by either clothes or manners from the layman; and the layman, for his part, thought none the worse of the parson for drinking in an inn or for riding to hounds.

The poet Cowper, on the other hand, wielded a heavy lash against the sporting clergy of the day. Himself deeply religious, he was eager for the revival of religion, and in his poems bitterly satirized negligent and place-hunting clergy. The Evangelical party, which was Calvinistic in doctrine, had a strong aversion from all recreation.* Card-playing, theatres, even music, were all banned as sinful frivolity even in the laity; so that we are not surprised to find Cowper writing:

"Occiduus is a pastor of renown,
When he has prayed and preached the sabbath down,
With wire and catgut he concludes the day,
Quav'ring and semi-quav'ring care away.
The full concerto swells upon your ear;
All elbows shake. Look in, and you would swear
The Babylonian tyrant with a nod
Had summoned them to serve his golden god.

* * * * *

"Will not the sickliest sheep of ev'ry flock
Resort to his example as a rock?
There stand, and justify the fair abuse
Of sabbath hours with plausible excuse?
If apostolic gravity be free
To play the fool on Sundays, why not we?
If he the tinkling harpsichord regards
As inoffensive, what offence in cards?
Strike up the fiddles; let us all be gay!
Laymen have leave to dance, if parsons play."

Here, of course, the charge of sabbath-breaking is added to that of frivolity. But Cowper's deepest indignation is reserved for the *hunting* parson. He says:

"Oh, laugh or mourn with me the rueful jest,
A cassocked huntsman and a fiddling priest!
He from Italian songsters takes his cue:
Set Paul to music, he shall quote him too.
He takes the field. The master of the pack
Cries: 'Well done, saint!' and claps him on the back.

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* Wesley, though not without a sense of humour, actually forbade all games to the pupils maintained in the school at Kingswood which he founded for Methodists.

Is this the path to sanctity ? Is this
To stand a way-mark in the road to bliss ?
Himself a wanderer from the narrow way,
His silly sheep, what wonder if they stray ?
Go, cast your Orders at your bishop's feet,
Send your dishonoured gown to Monmouth-street !
The sacred function in your hands is made—
Sad sacrifice !—no function but a trade !"

These strictures bear the stamp of prejudice; for even if singing were wrong, why should it be worse to imitate an *Italian* songster ? And in what way can a sporting parson in any age be said to make it a trade ? The worst that can be said of him is that addiction to sport may make him disinclined for his religious duties; and doubtless there has always been some danger of this.

Certainly George Crabbe (1754-1832), writing a generation later than Cowper, makes a definite accusation to this effect against the hunting parson. Crabbe, though himself in Holy Orders (as Cowper was not), was more tolerant and less satirical than the earlier poet. He had, indeed, when chaplain to the Duke of Rutland, tried to vie with fellow-clergy in shooting parties, though with poor success. Yet even his more tolerant mind was shocked at such neglect of pastoral duty as he here describes:

" Fain would he* ask the parish priest to prove
His title certain to the joys above:
For this he sends the murmuring nurse, who calls
The holy stranger to these dismal walls;
And doth not he, the pious man, appear,
He ' passing rich with forty pounds a year ' ?
Ah ! no: a shepherd of a different stock,
And far unlike him, feeds his little flock:
A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday task
As much as God or man can fairly ask;
The rest he gives to loves or labours light,
To fields the morning, and to feasts the night;
None better skilled the noisy pack to guide,
To urge their chase, to cheer them or to chide;
A sportsman keen, he shoots through half the day,
And, skilled at whist, devotes the nights to play;
Then, whilst such honours bloom around his head,
Shall he sit sadly by the sick man's bed,
To raise the hope he feels not, or with zeal
To combat fears that e'en the pious feel ?"

Crabbe puts a devastating touch to this disturbing picture by telling of the pauper's death, and how at the hour appointed for the funeral the church bell tolls in vain; after waiting a long time the villagers disperse, for the hunting parson does not appear, and the burial has to be deferred till Sunday, his one working day.

Crabbe's gravamen is far weightier than Cowper's, both

* The sick inmate of a workhouse.

because it lacks Cowper's obvious unfairness, and because, whilst Cowper is a satirist, with occasionally something of the malice of Pope, Crabbe is more concerned to give a faithful picture than to write satire.

It might have been of this negligent parson that an old hunting song of the West used to be sung. Its title was *Parson Hogg*, and it ran thus:

"Mess Parson Hogg shall now maintain
The burden of my say, sir!
A single life perforce he led,
Of constitution strong, sir.
Sing tally ho! sing tally ho!
Sing tally ho! why zounds, sir!
He mounts his mare to hunt the hare,
Sing tally ho! the hounds, sir.

"And every day he goes to mass
He first puts on his boot, sir!
That, should the beagles chance to pass,
He may join in the pursuit, sir!
Sing tally ho! etc.

"That Parson little loveth prayer,
And pater night and morn, sir!
For bell and book hath little care,
But dearly loves the horn, sir!
Sing tally ho! etc.

"St. Stephen's day that holy morn
He went a pair to wed, sir!
When as the service was begun,
Puss by the churchyard sped, sir!
Sing tally ho! etc.

"He shut his book. 'Come on,' he said,
'I'll pray and bless no more, sir!'
He drew the surplice o'er his head,
And started for the door, sir!
Sing tally ho! etc.

"In pulpit Parson Hogg was strong,
He preached without a book, sir!
And to the point, but never long,
And this the text he took, sir!
O tally ho! O tally ho!
Dearly Beloved—zounds, sir!
I mount my mare to hunt the hare,
Singing, Tally ho! the hounds, sir!"

"Billy Butler" was another jovial hunting parson who used to hunt in the New Forest district with a pack of hounds kept by George IV., when Prince of Wales. He was a great favourite with the Prince, and a story is told of the latter's good-naturedness towards his naïve speech. One Saturday after hunting, the Prince said: "Billy, you will dine with me tomorrow?" "Tomorrow, your Royal Highness," replied Billy, "is Sunday; rather a bad day for a parson to dine out,

but I shall be very happy to dine with you on Monday." "And so you shall, Billy!" replied the Prince.

Much attention has been drawn in the last few years to the recently discovered Journal of the Rev. James Woodforde, rector of Weston Longville in Norfolk towards the end of the century. He mentions riding very little, but often makes entries of coursing, such as:

"1792 *Octob.* 9, *Tuesday*. . . . Soon after breakfast I walked out coursing with my People, and with 3 Greyhounds and 3 Spaniels, ran three Hares and killed two of them—the Hare that got off shewed the best sport, being started on Ringland Brakes. Those that we killed shewed good Sport. We returned home before Three o'clock. Gave to a Boy keeping Sheep on Ringland Brakes, that informed there was a Hare lately seen by him on the same, and which we started and gave her a good sweating, tho' she got away as she deserved, gave him 0.6. N.B. The first Day of my going out a coursing this Season, very great Sport.

The Hampshire Hunt in 1782 numbered among its members the Rev. Charles Powlett of Itchen Abbas, who was not only an enthusiastic member of the hunt, but also its bard. He wrote hunting songs, which were sung at its convivial gatherings. Here are two verses of one of his efforts:

"Draw near, ye frail mortals of every degree,
Who heartily sigh and complain;
We'll find you a medicine, without any fee,
Shall quickly alleviate your pain.
Would you drive away care,
To the Wheatsheaf repair,
Where with mirth and good humour embrace,
Our Hampshire Hunt join,
While young mirth and old wine
Enliven the joys of the chase!

* * * * *

"On tithes and oblations no longer intent,
The parson* came ambling along,
To forward the sport ever anxiously bent,
Though feeble and last in the throng,
His weak muse and his horse
Have alike run their course,
Long hackney'd, exhausted, and lame,
Yet the veteran entreats
In return for past feats,
Your favour he humbly may claim.
Then, to drive away care,
He'll to Vernon's repair,
Where it and good humour embrace,
The Hampshire Hunt join
While young mirth and old wine
Enliven the joys of the chase!"

Our argument, it may be noted, has run rather to verse; but, after all, it is the poet rather than the scientist or mathematician who gives us the truest picture of life!

* Mr. Powlett himself.

We can hardly end without a line or two of tribute to "Jack Russell." The Reverend John Russell just comes within our purview, for he was born in 1795; he is too great a name to be omitted, and he gives us the chance of ending with a couple of stories. Devon-bred, and educated at Oxford, he stood over six feet in his socks and weighed over fifteen stone. As a curate at Iddesleigh he kept a pack of foxhounds, and later, as rector of Black Torrington, a pack of harriers. He was respected as a good Christian no less than as a good sportsman. Mr. Underhill, in his *Century of English Fox-hunting*, says that his only boast (unlike most boasts, true!) was that he could better construe the words of human kindness than Latin elegiacs or Greek iambics. At a private dinner on one occasion at which Russell and his bishop were present, a lady told the bishop that Russell was a good preacher. Russell deprecated the praise with a truly Johnsonian retort: "Madam, when my head was so wooden that scholarship could not be knocked into it, it was whacked in at a more sensitive place."

It was sometimes discussed by sportsmen whether the foxhound was an original breed of dog or had been evolved from other breeds. Lord Carrington once asked Russell: "Did the foxhound come out of the ark?" To which the obvious reply came: "How could he? Did not a brace of foxes come out alive?"

My pen has run away with me into the nineteenth century, and it must come to a full stop. Let it, however, first add my conviction that, if at first sight there seem to be less sporting priests nowadays than of old, such an estimate is far from true. Not only has the whole spiritual efficiency of the clergy immensely increased, but they are no less ready than of yore to risk their skin in venturous deeds. It is easy to depreciate the manliness of the modern parson by comparing him with some old-time devotee of the gun or the horse. But times have changed—and we with them! The hunting field is not the only ground on which a sporting spirit can show itself; if it were, there would be few sportsmen, lay or cleric, in England today. Twentieth-century clergy played no contemptible part in the Great War, as any reference to official records will show. There is no lack of young priests whose sportsmanship is welcomed on football and cricket fields. And where, in the eighteenth century, there was one who exercised his brawn and endurance in the mission field, there are hundreds today. May it long be so!

G. Lacey May.

THE TRAINING OF THE INDIAN MINISTRY

If a Church is to be healthy, the provision of a ministry drawn from the people, composed of truly converted men adequately trained and sufficient in numbers, is of primary importance. This is emphasized again and again both in *The World Quest* and also in that most valuable survey, too little known in England, Dr. Pickett's *Christian Mass Movements in India.* The Indian Bishops and the great Missionary Societies at home are planning to meet this need.

In some parts of India Christian congregations are mainly to be found in towns. They are composed of people with a measure of education, and their ministry is drawn from men who have received an education in English. But over most of the country, and especially in the south, Christians are in the villages and need to be ministered to by men whose homes and whose hearts are in the villages. Even in the south conditions vary. In the Diocese of Tinnevelly or in the South Travancore area of the South India United Church Christianity is of many years' standing and the general level of literacy is, for India, high. Relatively few of the Christians are new converts. The general feeling of the Church in these parts is that the clergy should be at least of matriculate standard, which means that they have been taught in English for at least three years before their theological education begins. But in an area such as Dornakal, where there has been an amazing increase in the Christian Church in the last generation, an increase which still continues, the majority of the clergy have to come from men of lower educational attainments, who must be taught in their own vernacular throughout their course.

These different conditions have produced different types of preparation for ordination. From early days Bishop's College in Calcutta has existed to prepare men from all over India. The absence of any common language has made the use of English in teaching and in worship inevitable: the students are mainly graduates. But for financial reasons a ministry wholly or mainly drawn from such men is beyond the reach of Indian Dioceses. Anyhow, it is more and more felt that men trained far away from their own homes and in a foreign language are not the most suitable for a Diocese of village Christians. The need for Bishop's College will continue, at least for the less advanced Dioceses, for many years, but it is important to grasp that today it must be considered as a compromise, not as an ideal. There is a need—an increasing

need—for clergy with the highest possible academic qualifications. But in any area where the number of candidates needing instruction of such a standard was sufficient, it would be far better to have a separate institution with worship and teaching in the men's mother tongue.

In various areas local colleges have grown up, often using English to a considerable extent, but keeping the students near their homes and giving them practical work among the kind of people to whom they will have to minister. The smallness of these colleges has often meant that the staff was insufficient to allow of due preparation of lectures and the students too few for there to be a real corporate life.

Where the Church is small and in its early stages, individual missionaries have often had to undertake the preparation of ordinands in the time available after their other work was done. The dangers of this are obvious. Men tend to be taught the correct answers, as they appear to the teacher, rather than trained to think for themselves, and come out fitted to be what were formerly called "Native Assistants" rather than leaders.

What ought to be the principles on which men's training is planned? First, beyond all question, that a man's training, intellectual and devotional, should be in the language of his own home, the language in which he will have to minister. It needs a highly trained mind really to assimilate what is learned in one language so as to be able to convey that knowledge in another language. And the difficulties of this process are enormously increased when the language of study is a foreign tongue, no better known than English is to the majority of ordinands even of matriculate grade. It is hard enough for an Englishman to teach Tamils in Tamil. But it is no less difficult for a Tamil to teach in Tamil what he has learnt in English. We at least know what we want to say, even if we have difficulty in saying it in a vernacular. The Indian too often does not really know what he is trying to express. It means something to him in English, but it does not mean it with sufficient clearness for him to express it adequately in his own language.

Secondly, the conditions under which a man is trained should, as far as possible, be those in which he will work. It is not good to prepare in a large town men whose labours will be in small villages. They should be in daily contact with the problems that will come before them after their ordination. The men who train them should know what these problems are, and to the Theological College should be attached a district in which staff and students together can seek and test their

solutions. For example, the Pickett Report stresses the importance of planned and orderly worship adapted to the needs of the village Christians. It is in the Theological College, with its expert staff, its library, and its students, most of whom come from and have already worked in the villages, that such forms of worship can best be discovered.

Thirdly, the staff must be adequate both in knowledge and in numbers. I assume that only men of real spiritual power will be suggested for such work. The shortcomings of the Indian educational system are notorious. Nor is any real improvement possible until all education, at least up to the B.A., is in a vernacular, and English, if studied, is studied as a language. Men must learn to think, if they are to think at all, in their own language. Having learnt to think, they may then learn things to think about in another language, if they have the ability. Exceptional individuals may and do overcome the handicaps of any system, but the mass of people, in India as elsewhere, are not exceptional, and most of our Christians come from homes with little tradition of learning. The students need to catch something of the vision of true learning from men who have themselves advanced beyond the slavery of textbooks, and who do not have to teach so many subjects that first-hand work becomes impossible. An Indian college will provide full opportunity for a staff not inferior in intellectual quality to that found in our best English Theological Colleges.

Lastly, in the words of the letter from the Metropolitan, "The ideal arrangement in every case is that the Theological College shall be a Church rather than a Mission Institution." Clearly a Diocese cannot work in entire independence of the Society or Societies to which it looks for help in men and money; and equally clearly the existence within the home Church of different Societies does complicate the relationship between the Church at home and the Church abroad. But our aim ought to be to build up something that is not only distinctively Christian, embodying all that is essential in what has come to India through the Societies, but also distinctively Indian and therefore, in many ways, markedly different from anything that is found in England. Nothing so builds up a corporate life which is Christian and Indian as Diocesan institutions controlled by the representatives of the Diocese. We should aim at an institution where the staff, Indian or English, are part of the Diocese, at their posts by the decision of the Diocese (though found and paid, if Europeans, by one of the Societies on behalf of the Diocese), and where the students are selected by the Diocese through its appropriate machinery.

If we accept these principles, we next have to see how they are to be applied to local conditions in India today. The problem is simpler in the south than in the north. There we have in Tinnevelly, Travancore and Cochin, Dornakal, and Colombo four real Dioceses, working under constitutions that give control to Churches predominantly indigenous both in membership and in ministry. Tinnevelly has over 110,000 Christians. Its Bishop and 8 of the clergy are Europeans, but 91 priests are Indians. Travancore and Cochin has 54 Indian priests and 1 Indian deacon, who, with a European Bishop and 3 European priests, minister to over 80,000 Christians. In Dornakal we find an Indian Bishop, with a European assistant Bishop, 11 European priests, 119 Indian priests and 21 Indian deacons, caring for 152,000 Christians. Already the Bishop reckons that another 40,000 wait for instruction. Colombo has 76 Sinhalese and Indian priests, 9 deacons, a European Bishop and 17 European clergy, and a Church population of 54,000. If separate figures for those clergy engaged in pastoral work were given, they would shew a far greater preponderance, for now the majority of the Europeans are in colleges or institutions.

The Telugu-speaking students are trained at the Dornakal Divinity School. The present staff consists of 2 Europeans, one from S.P.G. and one from C.M.S., and 1 Indian. The immediate needs, £135 for the support of the Indian tutor and £1,250 for increased accommodation, to allow of the training of 24 students instead of the present 16, are being met by S.P.C.K., S.P.G., and C.M.S. in co-operation. The Diocese also asks for £360 a year for the support of the students during their training. Practically all our ordinands in South India are without private means and married before they come to their theological course. The training of their wives is no less important than the training of the men themselves. The support of a student costs from £15 to £30 a year according to local conditions.

The problem is a little more difficult in the Malayalam-speaking area, for the number of clergy is smaller, and this means classes hardly large enough from the point of view of efficiency. But here, as in Dornakal and Tinnevelly, a larger number of clergy is desirable, if support were available; and any marked increase in the number of Christians, such as may come from the Ezhava movement,* would make expansion urgent. At the moment men are prepared for ordination at the Cambridge Nicholson Institute at Kottayam in Travancore, where also there are men undergoing teacher training and preparation for

* *Cf.* T. G. Stuart Smith in *East and West Review*, October, 1936.

lay work. Here they need about £120 for the improvement of buildings and money for books, both for the Library and for individual students.

The needs of the Tamil area are greater. The Bishop's Theological Seminary at Nazareth in Tinnevelly is the only Anglican Theological College using this vernacular. It can train men for work in the Dioceses of Tinnevelly, Madras and Colombo, and also provide priests to minister to the Tamil congregations in Burma and the Straits Settlements, in Travancore and in various cities of Central and Northern India. Some time ago it became clear that the buildings on the present site were growing too old for much further use and that the site itself was so cramped by the growth of the adjoining hospital that a comprehensive reconstruction was inevitable. A proposal for a joint school, for the Tamil-speaking area, where Anglicans and men from the South Indian United Church, owing their Christianity to the work of English and American Congregationalists and Scottish Presbyterians, could receive their training promised well, but finally came to nothing owing to opposition in India and in England. Much as we may regret this, we were bound then to set to work to plan for an Anglican Theological School, for further delay was impossible. After considerable discussion it was decided to put the new Seminary just outside Nazareth. There will be classes for ordinands, and for village teachers to equip them for the pastoral side of their work. It is also hoped to organize retreats and refresher courses both for clergy and for teachers. We have now 2 Europeans, one from each Society, and 1 Indian on the staff. We shall need another Indian. The cost of the whole scheme is estimated at about Rs. 60,000, and to meet the small amount available locally the societies have promised Rs. 54,000, about £4,000, and the work is already being put in hand. The ordinands are almost all matriculates, but the work is more and more being done in Tamil. Until a real vernacular Christian literature is available, it is necessary that all who know English should be encouraged to use English books and given some practice in that language. We have made desperately little progress in the production of works of scholarship in the vernacular, works out of which men at this level of education could study before ordination or which could be given to men of education among our lay people.

So far we have been considering areas where the number of Christians and of clergy is such that a regular Divinity School adequately staffed is needed to fill the vacancies due to death and retirement. We reckon in Tinnevelly that we need four new men a year to meet normal wastage on a total staff of 90

Indian clergy. But the average number of Indian clergy outside Ceylon and the Madras Presidency—that is, over an area which contains five-sixths of the population of India—is not much over 25 for each of the nine Anglican Dioceses. Areas in the north are usually immense, though over much of them we have no responsibility for missionary work. Still the distances make the growth of real Diocesan life difficult. In some areas the matter is further complicated by the presence of numbers of Europeans not permanently resident in the country. Add to this that within a Diocese there may be several languages spoken and great differences of living, and it will be seen how much more difficult it is to train clergy adequately. Plans may still be makeshift, as in Assam, where the Bishop himself has to do all that is done, but asks for one full-time priest for this essential work. Conditions in Assam and its distance from other parts make local arrangements inevitable.

In Burma training is given at the Diocesan Divinity School at Kokine both to Burmese and to Karens. Distance, political separation and the need for overcoming acute racial divisions in the fellowship of one Diocese are held to justify a method which must demand a knowledge of English from all students. At the moment the Diocesan authorities would welcome considerable sums for the purchase of land for additional buildings and for a scholarship endowment fund, but "neither of these needs can be classed as urgent."

The Diocese of Nasik trains ordinands and catechists in the same place, and so provides both corporate life and a not too inadequate staff. If by "catechists" is understood whole-time unordained workers, then the general opinion in India and in Missionary Headquarters is that they ought to be done away with. Instead there should be more ordained men, and their work should be supplemented with that of laymen whose main or entire support comes from some other occupation. This policy, excellent in theory, is in practice not without its own difficulties, especially where there is not, as in the south, a network of Christian village schools. Even there the village schoolmaster is, in fact, very much of a professional church worker. Still, whatever the worker is or is called, he needs training if his work is to be effective, and that training may well be given in a place where ordinands are also being taught. St. Andrew's Divinity School at Nasik needs an additional tutor, more buildings, and also, a need that is felt in many other places, a small sum to make it possible for men to come in regularly for retreats and refresher courses. India, especially since the slump, is so poor that it is all that we can do to provide the barest necessities of our Diocesan life. No one who knows

the responsibilities and the loneliness of the Indian clergy can wonder if some of them lose their early enthusiasm and grow mechanical and dull, acquiescent in the sub-Christian proceedings of too many around them. Yet, if we do so little for them after they are sent out from their Theological Colleges, we can hardly be surprised at what does happen. It is wasteful to train men and then leave them without spiritual and intellectual refreshment and stimulus.

There is one more area that demands consideration. Hindi and Urdu are cognate languages spoken or understood by a vast number of people. A scheme for meeting the needs of the C.M.S. Missions in North India has already been worked out, and the Society have promised to find the necessary staff and money for a school at Khatauli in the United Provinces, sixty miles from Delhi. Here will be a school, a teacher-training institution, a theological school for ordinands, and provision for retreats and refresher courses. This is to serve areas in five Provinces, in the Dioceses of Lahore, Lucknow, Calcutta and Nagpur. It is recognized that the conditions over so vast an area vary so much that it is not ideal to have only one institution, but it is felt that, at the moment, no better solution of the problem is possible. A constitution has been worked out meant to combine local authority with the recognition of the responsibilities of the home Society. The hope is expressed that the S.P.G. areas using these vernaculars will also send their men to Khatauli for training. How far this can be done and what will be the relation of Khatauli to the Hindi school in the Diocese of Chota Nagpur, which the Metropolitan describes as needed for the training of candidates from that Diocese, the Santhal mission in the Diocese of Calcutta, Nagpur, and possibly the Hindi-speaking parts of Lucknow, must be settled by those who know the local conditions. It is, anyhow, to be hoped that decisions will be made solely on the basis of what is needed for the growth of unity and self-government in the Indian Church. Christianity in India has already suffered terribly because of divisions irrelevant to Indian Christians imposed upon them from without.

What of Bishop's College? Under the new plan the students there will not be prepared for the Serampore B.D. during their course at Calcutta. It is widely felt that the older policy led to some men thinking more of the degree than of the preparation for the priesthood. But, for those intellectually fitted for further study, a Hostel is to be opened at Serampore, where they can go at the end of their full theological course at Calcutta, in order to qualify for the B.D. A building there will be required, the salary of a warden, and support for the

students. This two years' course at Serampore can also be taken by qualified men who have done their theological training in their own areas under approved conditions, thus combining instruction in their own languages with higher theological education.

Finally, I would emphasize that much of all this is and must be provisional. At any moment, as past and present history shows, a mass movement may alter the whole problem. A tiny church may become a multitude, needing and able to support a training institution of its own. Or again, the success of the movement for union will change our conditions in the south and call for and permit a drastic replanning of our methods and a more economical use of the funds and men available. We must keep our plans flexible, lest the opportunity pass us by. Communications in much of India are still poor, and a new railway line may open up new country and make a once isolated village into a centre of traffic. Existing institutions will not be useless, but they may have to be used for different purposes.

Over everything stands the essential fact, a fact not yet grasped by too many of those at home who care for missionary work, that the Indian Church exists today and that the converting and shepherding of the millions coming and to come into the Church of Christ in India is no longer primarily the task of the foreigner but of the Indian Church. India still needs the help, in men and women and in money, that the older Churches can give. But the main part of our work is to help the Indian Church to do its own work, not to do it ourselves. Our work is not less missionary because it is done mainly among Christians. The witness of the word needs to be reinforced by the witness of the supernatural quality of living seen in the Indian Church, and, without that, preaching is vain and growth in holiness impossible. Too often in every part of the world and at all periods of history we see an early enthusiasm give place to the largely conventional legalism of the fourth and fifth generations. If India is to do better than reproduce the condition of Western Christianity, it will be in large part because we have helped the Indian Church to equip itself with a ministry of men truly converted and intellectually and spiritually adequate for the task to which the living Christ has called them.

A. Michael Hollis.

MISCELLANEA

"The gates of Hades shall not prevail against it."—Matt. xvi. 18. (*πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.*)

In the Septuagint "Hades" is the regular translation of the Hebrew "Sheol," the rare exceptions being that occasionally it is used to translate the word "death," as in 2 Sam. xxii. 6. "Cords of Sheol were about me; the snares of death came upon me," when the LXX has "Hades" in both halves of the verse.

The meaning of the term and the imagery under which it is regarded can best be learnt from typical instances.

Job xvii. 13: "If I look for Sheol as mine house" (R.V.m. "If I hope [*ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπομείνω*] Sheol is mine house").

Job xvii. 16: "It (my hope) shall go down to the bars of Sheol." (*ποῦ οὖν μου ἔτι ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς; ἢ τὰ ἀγαθά μου ὄψομαι; ἢ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς ᾅδην καταβήσονται, ἢ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ χώματος καταβησόμεθα;*)

Job xxxviii. 17: "Have the gates of death been revealed unto thee? Or hast thou seen the gates of the shadow of death?" (*ἀνοίγνονται δέ σοι φόβῳ πύλαι θανάτου, πυλωροὶ δὲ ᾅδου ἰδόντες σε ἔπτηξαν.*)

Ps. vi. 5: "In death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?" (*ἐξομολογήσεταί σοι.*)

Ps. xvi. 9, 10: "My flesh also shall dwell in safety; for thou wilt not abandon my soul (=me) to Sheol; neither wilt thou suffer thy beloved to see the pit" (*i.e.*, to experience death). (*ὅτι οὐκ ἐνκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.*)

Ps. lv. 15: "Let death come upon them unawares, and let them go down alive into Sheol." (*ἐλθέτω θάνατος ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ καταβήτωσαν εἰς ᾅδου ζῶντες.*)

Prov. xv. 11: "Sheol and Abaddon (R.V.m. 'the grave and destruction') are before the Lord." (*ᾅδης καὶ ἀπώλεια.*)

Prov. xxvii. 20: "Sheol and Abaddon are never satisfied."

Is. v. 14: "Therefore Sheol hath enlarged her desire and openeth her mouth without measure." (*καὶ ἐπλάτυνεν ὁ ᾅδης τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διήνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μὴ διαλιπεῖν.*)

Is. xiv. 9: "Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming; it stirreth up the dead for thee."

Is. xiv. 14: "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds: I will be like the Most High."

Is. xiv. 15: "Yet thou shalt be brought down to Sheol, to the uttermost part of the pit." (*νὺν δὲ εἰς ᾅδην καταβήσῃ καὶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς.*)

Is. xxxviii. 10: "In the noontide of my days I shall go down into the gates of Sheol; I am deprived of the residue of my years." (*ἐν πύλαις ᾅδου καταλείψω τὰ ἔτη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα.*)

Wisdom ii. 1: "There is no healing when a man cometh to his end and none ever was known that gave release from (R.V.m. 'returned out of') Hades." (*οὐ ἐγνώσθη ὁ ἀναλύσας ἐξ ᾅδου; cp.* Job xiv. 14: "If a man die, shall he live [again]?")

Wisdom xvi. 13: " Thou hast authority over life and death, and thou leadest down to the gates of Hades and leadest up again."

3 Macc. v. 51: ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις ᾅδου καθεστῶτας (on the threshold of death).

In the New Testament the word " Hades " occurs in nine other passages beside Matt. xvi. 18 (ten if we read it in 1 Cor. xv. 55 with the *Textus Receptus*, but against Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort, who read " death " twice in this verse):

Matt. xi. 23=Luke x. 15: " And thou Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted to heaven? Thou shalt go down (be brought down) unto Hades."

Luke xvi. 23: " In Hades he lifted up his eyes . . . and seeth Abraham afar off."

Acts ii. 27, quoting Ps. xvi. 10: " Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades."*

Acts ii. 31: " Neither was he left in Hades."

Rev. i. 18: " And I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and Hades."

Rev. vi. 8: " His name was Death; and Hades followed with him."

Rev. xx. 13: " Death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them."

Rev. xx. 14: " Death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire."

It will be seen that throughout Hades is used only in reference to men, individuals or groups, but in one passage in the Old Testament and in one passage in the New which is modelled after it, this experience is slightly extended to include cities, Babylon and Capernaum, and then it signifies a state of unalterable destruction. In all other instances it is the state of being dead or by metaphor the place where the dead are. And death is to be taken literally and not metaphorically; the whole idea is physical, and not moral or spiritual. In two respects only has Hades any contact with wickedness:

(1) St. Paul teaches that the death of mankind is due to universal sin, but this has left little trace in the other parts of the Bible, and none is connected with the use of the word " Hades."

(2) And often in the Old Testament premature death is regarded as a punishment of exceptional sin committed not in Hades but on earth (*cf.* Ps. iv. 15). In such cases the whole emphasis is on the untimeliness and not on the fact of death, to go down to Hades being the lot of all men, good and bad alike.

In these instances Hades is regarded as a state or place of punishment for sin, but not of sin itself or moral evil. " Going down to Hades " is not a metaphor for spiritual deterioration, nor would coming up out of Hades be a metaphor for repentance or moral improvement. This is made abundantly clear in the New Testament. Because they were all dead, and in this respect all alike, the rich man, Abraham, and Lazarus were all in Hades, and the same Hades; because Christ was going to die, He was going down to Hades when He spoke to the penitent thief, and the paradise of which He spoke was in Hades. Hades is not Gehenna, and the virtuous man, if he overcomes sin, may prolong his days on the earth but does not thereby overcome Hades.

* In the original reference the text undoubtedly meant that God would not let the man die; here it is used of Christ's resurrection.

Nor is Hades the equivalent of "death" in all senses of the term. Death might be thought of as active, as slaying and going forth to slay, though there are but few examples, if any, of such a passage in the Bible, and regularly it is someone else and not death personified that does the actual slaying; but the only activity of Hades is to open or shut its gates or jaws. It does not move or go forth, but is merely static and receptive and retentive. On the positive side Hades is regarded as a prison; and the few examples of miraculous resurrection are passed over in the general statement, and until our Lord's resurrection any who escaped from Hades returned to it again, and Hades was not really overcome.

This characteristic is emphasized in the expression "the gates of Hades," which is all part of the same metaphor, the sole activity of gates being to open or to close. Plummer (I.C.C., *in loc.*) says: "If aggressiveness was the prominent idea we should hardly have the metaphor of a building with gates. Gates keep people in and keep people out . . . but they do not fight," and he criticizes Alford on this ground. Alford tries to equate gates of Hades with powers of Hades, and asserts that this is "a well-known oriental form of speech," but the only justification for this assertion which he offers is that the "Turkish Empire is known as the 'Ottoman Porte,'" to which Plummer rightly replies that the fact that the Turkish Empire is sometimes alluded to as "the Sublime Porte" no more makes "porte"="power," than the fact that the French Foreign Office is called the Quai d'Orsay would prove that "quai"="power." In the East much of the business of the city is transacted at the city gate, but there is no Eastern form of speech which would permit us to speak of "power" as gates. Gates, as we have said, are part of the same metaphor of a building or enclosure, and we have no right to introduce another metaphor of an entirely different kind in order to force upon the text an interpretation which may please our fancy but is foreign both to it and to the Jewish mind.

Now we come to κατισχύσουσιν, prevail. Though the Greek word taken by itself need not imply a contest, yet it must at least imply a contact and a comparison of strength. Thus an inorganic thing has nothing to do with Hades; you could not compare the strength of the "everlasting hills" with the power of the gates of Hades, because they are not of the same order. A hill, as it does not live, cannot die, and does not go near to Hades. Similarly, if an angelic being is given a life in its own nature immortal, he will never go near to Hades either, and to speak of the gates of Hades prevailing or not prevailing against him would be futile; they do not come into contact, and there is no opportunity of comparing their relative strength.

But if this is so, then "it," αὐτῆς, against which the gates of Hades are not to prevail, cannot be the Church, for the Church lives by the grace of God with an immortal life. Individual Christians go down to Hades, and until their resurrection remain in Hades, but the Church as a body does not die, and St. Paul would assert that some Christians will not die but will merely be changed at the coming of the Lord. Nor do Christian men die because they are Christians or as Christians, but because they are men and as men.

Faced with this difficulty, some have argued that it is not the Church as a body, but certain powers of the Church which are referred to. But though the Church has jurisdiction over its own members on earth

(as has every human society), it has no jurisdiction in Hades except—if this can be called an exercise of jurisdiction at all—by way of prayer. Certainly the mere fact that a person is dead cannot prevent anyone who is alive praying for him if he will. The gates of Hades no more hinder a living man from praying than they do from dying. But prayer for the dead would appear to have been a Jewish practice before it was a Christian one, and if the object is to effect some improvement in the condition of the dead in Hades, either in the way of added happiness or of moral advance, then we are faced with the facts (i.) that Hades is not in itself a moral or immoral but simply a physical state, so this interpretation would seem to be irrelevant application; and (ii.) that widespread pagan customs of burying armour, food, toys, slaves with the dead would seem to have the same object in view in regard to happiness, and pagan offerings of other kinds in regard to affecting their moral attitude towards their descendants; and thus neither view has any direct relation to the gates of Hades nor is it specifically Christian.

It would seem, therefore, that the only interpretation left is that this text is a prophecy of a resurrection; and when we refer back to the other instances of Hades or of the gates of Hades we find this interpretation all but inevitable. To approach Hades or the gates of Hades is to draw nigh to death, to go down to Hades or to enter Hades or through the gates of Hades is to die, the prevailing of the gates of Hades is that they bar exit, and if they are not to prevail, this can only mean that someone is to force or to unlock them from the inside, and as this someone is not the Church it can only be the " rock." " Rock " is here obviously being used figuratively, but this is to pass to another consideration.

F. J. Badcock.

SOME ALTERNATIVE BLESSINGS

"Then the Priest (or the Bishop if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing."—The Book of Common Prayer.

But need the Blessing be always the same Blessing? Should not a special form of Blessing be used for a special occasion?

There is, perhaps, no more solemn moment in a Church Service than that, when the people having made their act of praise, devotion and worship, a reverent quietness falls upon them and the Priest (or the Bishop if he be present) turns to them from the Altar and pronounces the Blessing.

In our mortal days of change, trial, sorrow, disappointment, surrounded with uncertainty, perplexity and dictatorships, few words can inspire greater confidence and peace of mind than those words of Blessing which reveal the attitude of divine love and protection of Almighty God to those of the company of faithful people who seek to walk in His ways and keep His commandments and who acknowledge His Son alone as the Only Dictator.

The following is a collection of differently worded Blessings which may be used at the conclusion of Church Services or any other appropriate occasions. Oftentimes it is found suitable at the end of a Service of some special character (Out-of-door Services, Evangelistic Meetings, Parades,

etc.) to use a form of Blessing which embodies some reference to the object for which the Service has been held. To this end, it is hoped that this collection may prove useful and suggestive.

1. May the Presence of Jesus Christ our Lord be always with you: keeping you pure in thought, kind in action, loyal in His service: and the Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, be amongst you and remain with you always. Amen.

2. The Blessing of God Almighty (*or the Peace and Blessing of*. . . . .), the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, be amongst you and remain with you always. Amen.

3. Unto God's most gracious Mercy and Protection we commit you: the Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His Face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up the Light of His Countenance upon you and give you His Peace: and the Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, be amongst you and remain with you always. Amen.

4. Unto the Lord's most gracious Mercy and Protection we commit you: may His light guide you; may His Strength support you; may His Love enfold you: and the Blessing of God Almighty. . . . . Amen.

5. Unto the Lord's merciful protection we commend you: may His Holy Angels guard you and defend you from all evil both in body and soul: and the Blessing of God Almighty. . . . . Amen.

6. Now may God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit bless you and keep you (*and all for whom you pray*) now (*or this day, this night*) and for evermore. Amen.

7. The Blessing of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit and the Peace of the Lord be always with you. Amen.

8. Grant, O Eternal Father, that these Thy servants may ever lean upon Thy Grace and be defended by Thy mighty Power, and may Thy Blessing be upon them evermore, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

9. May God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit bless you and your homes now (*this day, this night*) and for evermore. Amen.

10. May the Lord God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, keep you from all evil and give you His Blessing for ever. Amen.

11. The Almighty and Merciful Lord of Heaven and Earth bless you and keep you in His paths from this time forward and for evermore. Amen.

12. May the Angels of God protect you; may the Saints of God pray for you; into the Lord's Hands we commit you; the Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord lift up the Light of His Countenance upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord make His Face to shine upon you and give you His Peace all the days of your life. Amen.

13. The Blessing, the Peace and the Protection of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, descend upon you and abide with you always. Amen.

14. Now may God Almighty, in His Love and Mercy, bless you and keep you and give you His Peace, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

15. Go forth into the world in peace; be of good courage; hold fast that which is good; render no man evil for evil; support the faint-hearted; strengthen the weak; help the afflicted; honour all men; love and serve the Lord, rejoicing in the power of His Spirit: and the Blessing of God Almighty. . . . . Amen.

16. The Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, rest upon you and all your work done in His Name now and always. Amen.

17. Now may your Heavenly Father keep you under His protecting care, guiding you from all perplexities, cheering you in all discouragements, strengthening you against all temptations: and the Blessing of God Almighty. . . . . Amen.

18. May God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit bless you, your homes, your work and your leisure now and for ever. Amen.

19. May the Lord God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, fill your hearts with love and give you His Blessing for all the length of your days. Amen.

20. Bless these Thy servants, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, with Thy gifts of Love, Light and Wisdom, and grant that in the strength thereof they may ever live to set forth Thy greater glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

21. The Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, be with you always in your going out and coming in from this time forth and for evermore. Amen.

22. The Lord God Almighty direct your ways; the Lord God Almighty enlighten your minds and fill your hearts with desire for noble achievement in His Kingdom: and the Blessing of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit be upon you now and always. Amen.

23. Go forth to your work (*task, adventure, commission*) with faith, hope and charity; help the helpless, guide the wandering, comfort the despairing, lighten the heavy-laden, do good to all men: and the Peace and Blessing of God Almighty be with you evermore (*bring your labours to good success*). Amen.

24. Let the days of your pilgrimage be lived to the praise and glory of Almighty God, and may you and all your work be for ever blessed and sanctified: in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

25. Almighty God grant that you may ever be defended by His Eternal and Fatherly protection, and may His Blessing be upon you evermore, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

26. O Lord God Almighty, bless and sanctify these Thy servants: guide and keep them from all harm of body and soul, and lead them into the way of Thy Peace, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

R. G. Crookshank.

SUGGESTIVE ADVERTISEMENT

(A Meditation in an Omnibus)

1. *The Text.*

"Smokers are requested to occupy the rear seats." So read the notice, and I, an incurable non-smoker, yet without any wish to interfere with the pleasures of my neighbour, being condemned to spend a couple of hours in the not too comfortable vehicle, chose the second seat from the front.

Very soon the other man arrived and took the vacant front seat.

There was but a foot or two between him and the notice, and nothing to obscure his vision, yet within a minute of his arrival he had taken out a packet of cigarettes and lit one.

2. *Consideration.*

(*a*) Is he really as inconsiderate as his action seems to indicate ? If not, what is his motive ? Did he not see the notice ? Has the habit taken such hold of him that he is incapable of resisting it ? Yet there is plenty of room at the back. Is he merely thoughtless ?

Whence comes this growing lack of consideration on the part of smokers for those who for any reason prefer not to live always in an atmosphere of burning tobacco ?

The war is often blamed, and if the men in the trenches found in smoking something that enabled them in some measure to forget the horrors of their condition, who shall blame them ? But the war has long passed; many of those who in these days are the chief offenders have not even a childish recollection of the war time. Can no other reason be found for the seemingly complete lack of self-control which so often manifests itself in unpleasant looks, and at times even in offensive remarks, when one ventures to suggest that one does not really enjoy the second-hand smoke of a fellow-passenger after deliberately choosing to occupy one of the very few remaining railway carriages marked " Smoking Forbidden "?

(*b*) To return to the man in front—is he after all a smoker ? It is true that as soon as his first cigarette is done, he takes out and lights another, but it is to be noticed that each cigarette goes to his lips only two or three times, and that for only a second or two. Most of the time it is held between two fingers of the hand which rests on his knee. Here in an almost literal sense is " money to burn." What possible enjoyment has he in holding a slowly burning paper full of tobacco ? How has it come about that such an obviously wasteful practice is so widespread ? Why is it that smokers as a class seem to find it impossible to spend even a few minutes without tobacco in some form or other ?

(*c*) The answer apparently lies in the power of suggestion. A glance at almost any paper or magazine is enough to convince one how intensive is the suggestion that all odd moments should be filled by the smoking of a cigarette. The tobacco companies have so insistently advertised their products that the public has come to accept their assertions at their face value, and the habit of smoking on every possible occasion is firmly established.

3. *Application.*

Since the power of advertisement is so generally recognized, and appears in fact to be so successful, why should not the Church make more use of it to reach those who are normally untouched by the ordinary methods of evangelization ? Of course it would involve a very large expenditure of hardly acquired funds, but if the results are so sure that those whose chief motive is self-interest can afford to spend the enormous sums they do, surely the Christian Church has a sufficiently strong motive for doing everything possible for the spread of the Good News. After all, the attitude of the majority of our countrymen in these days seems to be that one just does not pray or worship. The ordinary life of the country as depicted, for example, in the modern novel, is one into which

religion simply does not enter. Would not a long and careful plan of advertising, on the lines, perhaps, of some of those with which one is so familiar in business, help to set this right ?

I imagine some picture of this kind: A country church near the roadside; a board shewing that it is a bus stop; the well-groomed hiker turning into the gate, and a legend such as " TEN MINUTES TO WAIT—TIME FOR A SHORT THANKSGIVING "; or this: A country railway station, with the tower of the village church shewing just across the road; the traveller is going through the gate towards the church; and perhaps the legend, " AN HOUR TO WAIT—AND I OMITTED MY MEDITATION THIS MORNING."

Would such methods be too undignified for the sublime message we are commissioned to preach ? Perhaps so, and certainly great care would be needed lest they became merely vulgar; yet after all we do use advertisement in some ways at present, and there is at least one piece of evidence which might support the theory that St. Paul employed it; and some such " suggestion " seems to be urgently needed to accustom the nation to the idea that there is still a force in the Gospel; that not only are there still many who regard prayer as a natural occupation for man, but also that in truth it is so.

4. *Resolution.*

I will submit the idea to those who are much better able to judge of its usefulness or otherwise than I am myself.

H. R. WILSON.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

THE January number of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* opens with the first of a series of articles by Father Galtier on the penitent and the converted in primitive times, and he sets out with the Latin attitude and comes down to the Celtic attitude. Father Hoc investigates the sermons and addresses of the seventeenth century in order to ascertain the movements of prices, and from this apparently unpromising material he extracts promising results. His tables of prices are invaluable. Father Zeiller contributes a short note on the date of the Council of Aquila. Father Rochard writes briefly on a scholium of Origen attributed to Denys of Alexandria. He also examines a homily of Theophilus of Alexandria on the institution of the Eucharist. Father Esposito examines some of the heresies charged against Thomas Scotus. The reviews of books and the notices of articles in foreign periodicals are of the last importance to the scholar.

R. H. M.

In the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for April, Father Martin examines the relationship of Hippolytus of Rome and Proclus of Constantinople. There is much light shed on their writings, especially those of a homiletical nature. Father Galtier concludes his series of articles on penitents and the " convertis," reviewing the problem from the angle of Latin penitence to that of Celtic. There arises, of course,

the difficult problem as to how far the regulations laid down actually obtained in practice. Father Callewaert investigates the liturgical work of St. Gregory. Father Capelle writes a note on the place of the "Ad te Domine" in the Ambrosian mass. The accounts of articles in quarterlies and, above all, the review more than maintain their usual high standard of merit.

R. H. M.

REVIEW

THE ALTAR MISSAL*

Unauthorised Missals are a feature of English Church life (in America they are little used in comparison with England, since the Canon is more satisfying to Catholic-minded priests). The new Missal is compiled by a priest of the Cowley Fathers, with the approval of the Society, who "has been careful to include only such matter as has already received episcopal sanction or might reasonably expect to receive it." The Service is printed three times: as in 1662; as an Alternative Order with the Prayer of Oblation and the Lord's Prayer following the Consecration immediately; in the South African form. Enrichments for the private devotions of the priest at the Offertory, and before and after the Consecration Prayer, are taken from the Roman and Sarum Missals. A great deal of additional material for Black Letter Saints' Days and other occasions is also provided.

The case for such books may be stated thus:

1. The Book of Common Prayer does not meet the needs of churches with a daily celebration. Exact following of it produces monotony and supplementing is highly desirable for a full devotional life.

2. The 1928 Book gives a good deal for which we are thankful, but the edition with the largest type cannot be used with comfort by many priests. The Commons of Black Letter Saints are often inappropriate.

3. England is the publishing centre for the Anglican Communion, other than the United States, and some overseas bishops are glad to authorize such books for use in their dioceses, where there is no Act of Uniformity.

4. The principle of additional collects is universally recognized. The variable matter at the Offertory, etc., need not be used except by the priest privately; but if said audibly at weekday services it merely represents "anthems," to which, when sung, few would object.

5. Whether it is "loyal" to supplement the Consecration Prayer privately by additions from the Sarum or Roman Canon is a matter where opinions differ. In practice priests who do this are not conscious of implying that the English Rite is inadequate, nor do they lead their congregations to this con-

* Mowbrays. Prices from £4 15s. 0d.

clusion. The additions are said privately in order to enrich private devotion.

The case thus presented will seem to many not to have been made out. In particular, though the 1928 Prayer Book was never formally authorized, it represented so large a measure of agreement as to what was practicable, and in so many ways coincided with other Anglican revisions, that other enrichments, it may be held, ought to keep as closely as possible to the 1928 standard. But here we are confronted by the practical difficulty that, to put it bluntly, the Roman Mass is not copyright, while not even a few sentences from the 1928 Book may be used without permission, which is not always granted. However, bearing this in mind, the compiler's desire to be helpful must be gladly recognised. In two points, in particular, he gives no encouragement to extremities. The *Gloria* always appears in the Prayer Book position, and the rubrics do not recommend the Roman place for the Ablutions—indeed they are not mentioned at all.

Though we are trying to say all that can be said in favour of the Missal, it must be confessed that there are unnecessary divergences from the English Rite. For example, the *Gloria* is ordered *not* to be used on Sundays in Advent and from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday, a provision found in no Anglican revision. And Collect, Epistle and Gospel different from those in the Prayer Book are ordered for the Midnight Mass of Christmas Day. These, as we all know, are most edifying; but it is a mistake to give the congregation at a great festival something which cannot be followed in their Prayer Book.

W. K. L. C.

NOTICES

OUR FAITH. By Emil Brunner. Scribners. 5s.

The original Protestantism had bones in it. Whatever else it was, it was not a flabby religion. But some of the bones were so rigid that the religion ceased to work; its doctrine of election to reprobation, its fundamentalism, its narrow pietism and puritanism were petrifying. So Protestantism was driven to borrow from the Enlightenment; it became Kantian, liberal, and idealistic, to save itself from death, and in the process shed most of the bones that were needed to keep its shape. It flopped into sentimentality and vapours. Death, but this time by deliquescence, seemed to be the inevitable end. But that end has not come; and a large part of the revival is the work of men like Brunner.

This book of Brunner's puts the bones back into Protestantism. In this excellent statement of modern Continental Protestantism we have a simple and straightforward account of a definite coherent creed, which, in its main features, is recognizably the faith of Christendom. It is dedicated to his sons, and puts theology into the familiar language of daily life. The style is clear and often striking, the thought is firm and well-knit. Professor Brunner is as much at home in presenting Christian truth to his boys as he is in writing a first-rate theological treatise, such as *The Mediator*, for theologians. The early part, on God and Christ, is the best. The sections which deal with Church and Sacraments are less complete and satisfying, seen from an Anglican point of view, but a very definite meaning is attached to these parts of the Christian Gospel.

H. BALMFORTH.

SOME BOOKS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Forty years ago Alfred Bertholet published a commentary on Ezekiel in the well-known series of which Marti was the general editor. With some assistance from Professor Kurt Galling, the veteran scholar has now produced a second commentary,* in the *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, which is designed to be the successor to the *K.H.C.* A comparison between the two is inevitable, and helps us to realize how much has been done on Ezekiel during the present century. Indeed, it may safely be said that there is no part of the Old Testament on which critical opinion has undergone more startling changes. In 1897 everyone believed that the book was the homogeneous product of a single author; today the question is: How much can we attribute to a prophet named Ezekiel? When Bertholet's former commentary appeared, no one doubted that the whole of the prophet's work was done in Mesopotamia; now the most conservative of critics insist on Palestine as the scene of at least a part of his labours, while the more extreme school seems prepared to deny that he was ever in Babylonia at all.

All this has had its effect on Bertholet, who has never lost his interest in the book, and his present position is the result of sober consideration, not only of the facts, but also of the many theories which have been

* *Hesekiel*, Alfred Bertholet, mit einem Beitrag von Kurt Galling. Mohr, Tübingen. 1936. Pp xxiv.+171. M. 8.10.

advanced to explain them. The curious textual phenomena have led him to develop Kraetschmar's view of the double text (printed, where it occurs, in parallel columns), and to suggest that "what Ezekiel left behind him was in part nothing but "Entwürfe," which might shew how he himself dealt with his material and grappled with its literary formulation." It is interesting to see how Bertholet apportions the material as between the original prophet and the later accretions and modifications; the division is indicated by the use of different types. On the important question of the scene of the prophet's labours, Bertholet now holds that part of his work was done in Palestine and part in Babylonia. "Palestine" is not necessarily Jerusalem; Ezekiel was actually in some other town or village at the moment when Jerusalem itself fell to Nebuchadrezzar.

In studying the commentary itself, it is inevitable that a reader should feel from time to time that more might have been said, or that an alternative explanation is preferable. In handling the denunciation of the prophets and those who apply to them, contained in xiv. 1-11, for instance, we might have wished that something had been said about the terrible implications of *pittah* used as a technical term. But no commentary can escape this kind of subjective criticism, and the ripe scholarship, sane judgment, and sympathetic appreciation which the author shews make this a very notable contribution to our understanding of the Old Testament.

In this country it has been recognized for a number of years that the history of Israel, religious and political, is to be understood only by giving full place to the impact between two orders of civilization, the nomad and the agricultural. Recently the principle has been adopted by one or two American scholars, and in Martin Buber's *Königtum Gottes** we have its application to one of the most important elements in Old Testament thought. The present volume is the first of a group of three, whose general title is *Das Kommende*, and the aim of the whole is the study of the Messianic doctrine of the Old Testament and of its place in eschatology. In this first part it is the early history—especially the pre-monarchic period—that is discussed. The text from which Buber starts is Gideon's famous saying, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; Yahweh shall rule over you," and he shews how the genuine Israelite principle was a real theocracy, not even a hierocracy. The nomad tradition of the Aramæan invaders, to whom the title "Israel" properly belongs, would permit of no personal authority other than that of Yahweh Himself. He is a "king," a tribal leader, not a "Baal," a local fertility spirit, and He exercises His functions primarily through the inspired individual, prophet or judge. Only in time of stress is a special human agent needed, and then he is produced and rendered efficient by the ecstatic onrush of the Spirit. Moses, the Judges, Saul himself, are men with charismatic powers, to be classed with the prophet rather than with the hereditary monarch or with the professional priest. The case is presented in scholarly fashion, and, with such introduction as this, every reader will look forward eagerly to the second and third volumes.

We are accustomed to the idea that God may enter into and understand human experience, but is the reverse process possible? Can a

* Schocken Verlag. Berlin. 1936. Pp. lxi.+295. Brosch., M. 7.50. Lein. M. 9.50.

mere man share the experience of God, and see the worlds of nature and of humanity from the divine point of view? Abraham Heschel* not only answers this question in the affirmative, but believes that such sympathy with the Divine was the fundamental characteristic of Old Testament prophecy. His theory is worked out with skill and thoroughness, and he is ready to draw its theological conclusions. It was this power of entering into the thoughts and emotions of God which, in spite of its necessary limitations, gave the prophet his message, and made him the mouthpiece of the Divine will. It is impossible to follow in detail the way in which Heschel discusses various explanations of Old Testament prophecy, and contrasts his view with the theological conceptions of other philosophers and thinkers, especially with those of the great pagans. It is enough to remark that we have here a really stimulating attempt to interpret along novel lines one of the most obscure features of the Old Testament—the method by which the prophets reached that unique knowledge of God which enabled them to play their part in the development of human religion.

The problem of teaching the Old Testament is as keenly felt in the Roman Catholic branch of the Church as in any other, and Professor J. Coppens, of the University of Louvain, is to be congratulated on his attempt to construct a syllabus of studies.† The greater part of his little book is an exposition of his principles and methods; the syllabuses themselves are placed at the end. They are designed, apparently, for classes in schools, higher and lower, and merit the careful consideration of all who have to plan courses of study in Scripture. Professor Coppens, however, hardly lays enough stress on the teaching of Hebrew in seminaries and theological colleges; perhaps he takes it for granted. Otherwise, his spirit, method of approach, and wise discrimination should make his work as valuable to Protestants as to Catholics.

The Psychology of Asceticism. By Johannes Lindworsky, S.J. H. W. Edwards. 5s.

"Christian asceticism is the endeavour towards the attainment of Christian perfection. This, in turn, is the best possible fulfilment of the Divine Will." "In harmony with the best talents and inspirations within us to plough through the sea of life like a richly laden vessel under full sail and achieve something which proves a blessing for us and for others, that is the Catholic idea of the ascetic." "It includes as a part, or as a presupposition, that one must be a living, efficient, and on that account clearly a sufficiently healthy person."

In such terms does Johannes Lindworsky, S.J., justify the Ignatian system in the face of some modern psychological condemnations of Christian asceticism. Each individual's vocation within the *corpus Christi mysticum* is the basis of the pursuit of perfection. The best way of finding the vocation, of pursuing "the holiness of the humdrum," and of dealing with the hindrances to the pursuit of perfection, are the subjects of this peculiarly healthy book. He is good on the subject of Scruples.

J. A. Ramsbotham.

* *Die Prophetie.* Prace Komisji Orjentalistycznej Mr. 22. Krakow. 1936. Pp. 195.

† *Pour mieux comprendre et mieux enseigner l'histoire sainte de l'Ancien Testament.* Desclee de Brouwer et Cie. Paris. 1936. Pp. 82.

THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST IN THE LIGHT OF OUR PRESENT-DAY KNOWLEDGE. By J. H. Best, B.Sc. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

So much of the literature written on the relations between science and religion suffers from woolliness that a study such as Mr. Best's, which is crystal-clear from beginning to end, is a pleasure to read. The author covers a good deal of ground, but, as he writes mainly for those without "expert" knowledge of any kind, the "intelligent layman," who had never previously read a word either of science or New Testament criticism, will find no difficulties in following his contentions. In his treatment he is modern without consciously striving after modernity. He stresses sufficiently that the scientist of today cannot be a "materialist" in the sense that his grandfather was, but he does not invoke the Quantum Theory and the Principle of Indeterminacy, of which possibly too much is sometimes made for apologetic purposes. Perhaps the "expert" may miss any philosophical discussion properly so-called, but the book is directed in the first place to the "plain man" whose distrust of philosophy is proverbial.

Mr. Best begins with an admirable account of the nature of the physical world, intended to shew that the Natural Order is governed not by a single law, but by a set of mutually independent laws, and that it is thus misleading to think of Nature as an undifferentiated unity. From this multiplicity, the author proceeds to deduce that the Natural Order allows of the ingression of new forces from without, a fact which he illustrates by two diagrams. That is to say, the scientific view of Nature allows a place not only for free will, but also for ingressions according to higher laws, namely miracles. (The philosopher will recall that there is a careful analysis of the causal process from the point of view in Dr. Nicolai Hartmann's *Ethics*, though Mr. Best, in view of his theism, is able to give a much more complete account of the situation than can Dr. Hartmann.)

Having satisfied himself that miracles are possible, Mr. Best then proceeds to examine the New Testament evidence. This is prefaced by a careful popular account of the bearing of Synoptic criticism upon the trustworthiness of the Gospels;* and the evidence in favour of the historicity of the miracles is judicially sifted. The author gives an especially elaborate analysis of the evidence in favour of the Resurrection, where the case is set out along the lines of the better eighteenth-century apologetic, enhanced by the data of modern scholarship. The Virgin Birth is defended on the ground that Jewish (as opposed to Gentile) tradition would not have been likely to invent the story; but it is recognized that the Incarnation does not turn on it.

Within its limits—*i.e.*, for those who are prepared to eschew the profounder philosophical issues—the book is excellent.

F. L. CROSS.

AN OUTLINE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND FORMS. By W. D. Maxwell, Ph.D. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

This book suggests comparison with another, written by the Rev. Dr. D. H. Hislop of Edinburgh in 1935, entitled *Our Heritage in Public Worship*. The two volumes cover much the same ground, are written

* Mr. Best is wrong, of course, in identifying the Old Syriac version with the Peshitto on p. 44.

by Scottish Presbyterians and are welcome signs of a revival of liturgical interest in the North, where modes of Christian worship have been almost unbelievably crude. Of the two books Dr. Hislop's is the more spiritual and original, Dr. Maxwell's more concise and orderly, an admirable handbook, especially for beginners of liturgical study. Not that Dr. Maxwell's volume is lacking in scholarship and learning. He has read widely and is familiar with a large number of liturgical forms, both ancient and modern, particularly those of the Reformed Continental Churches.

The book consists of five sections: the first deals with origins, the second with the Eastern and the third with Western liturgies, the fourth with Churches of the Reformation (Lutheran, Zwinglian and others), among which appear incongruously, as the writer admits, the Anglican Rites; the final chapter contains an interesting account of Quire offices, the Christian Year and some forms of prayer. If this final chapter alone were read and pondered by Presbyterian ministers, an immense improvement in their mode of conducting public worship might be effected.

Naturally, in covering so large a field the author is not always sure of his ground. Thus he tells us that " underlying the Roman Canon was the idea of Sacrifice peculiar to Roman theology," and implies that transubstantiation is involved in the Roman Canon (p. 63), whereas the Mass in itself is as devoid of any special idea of Sacrifice as it is of transubstantiation. A considerable part of the book is devoted to Reformed Continental forms of worship which in the author's opinion have been unduly neglected by liturgists. The fact, however, is that these forms are singularly jejune, as indeed Dr. Maxwell's own descriptions of them prove. An important feature of the work is the detailed outlines of many liturgical forms, which, however, with a moderate use of subdivisions would have been more intelligible. One wonders whether the titles for his two divisions, " liturgy of the word " and " liturgy of the Upper Room," are as apposite as their Scriptural appearance suggests.

Dr. Maxwell claims that the normal Presbyterian morning service is a survival of the " dry Mass," and that this is an improvement on Matins, statements which are questionable, the one on historical and the other on spiritual and psychological grounds.

But in a work of this kind universal agreement is not to be expected nor perhaps desired. The volume is equipped with a full bibliography, and its clear type and ample margins make it a pleasure to read.

The Life According to St. John. By the Right Rev. Philip Lloyd, Bishop of Nazik. Mowbrays. 6s.

There is nothing more interesting than the fact that many books are now appearing on the Fourth Gospel. They come from the East and West with a message to those who would know God. This last is from India. It has often been pointed out that the Gospel of St. John is one that the Indian most readily takes to his heart, as it opens to him the secrets of the life that is hidden in God through Christ. It is none the less an interesting fact that the people turn to a book for their spiritual food, over which the scholars cannot make up their minds. To say that there are no questions about it, and none to be settled, is to talk nonsense, but while the learned ponder and wait, the children are running

ahead of them. The Bishop of Nazik would, I have no doubt, number himself among the children, and we cannot be too grateful to him for the book he has given us.

His preface is of great value, for in it he sets out in as clear and simple a way as I have read, the conditions and requirements of mental prayer leading to the prayer of simplicity. His words in Section V. iii. should be underlined many times: "This means further that, at any rate for ordinary people like ourselves, our real knowledge of God (which is life eternal, remember) does not come through revelations or wonderful experiences in prayer, but rather through the ever-accumulating experience of the way in which God sees us through, and (we hope) gets His way done through us, when we just trust Him and refuse to worry." This is most wholesome counsel, as earnest souls often think things are wrong with them because, as they say, "nothing happens." Yet God is at work in the soul all the time. The faithful heart that goes on loving though nothing seems to happen is the soul that comes to know.

It is not necessary to say any more about this book and its real value. Having read the preface, one is assured that we are dealing with one who understands, and with that assurance our knowledge of the way to God will be made clearer and our grasp of His faithfulness to us established. It is only necessary to read the meditations to know the truth of this.

W. E. Lutyens.

Ideology and Utopia. By Karl Mannheim. Kegan Paul. 15s. net.

Because it behoves the Christian preacher and teacher to grapple with the deeper moral and intellectual issues involved in the great conflicts of our times, this book is to be commended to him for his very careful study. The author was formerly a Professor of Sociology in the University of Frankfurt, and these essays are well translated by Professor Louis Wirth, of the University of Chicago, who in a long preface gives an illuminating introduction to this original and penetrating analysis of modern social and intellectual theories.

Fundamentally considered, the antagonisms which are rending our modern world are due to rival and incompatible ideologies. And the tragedy of the situation is that at present there is no criterion whereby these conflicting ideologies may be judged. An ideology is a system of thought which has grown up in a community as a result of the social, political, and economic conditions prevailing in that place at that time. At first the discovery is made that our adversaries are the victims of ideology. Marx charged the bourgeoisie with the hideous new crime of ideology. The second stage is reached when this deadly weapon is wielded by the other party also and the system of Marx is shewn to be vitiated by the ideological nature of his thought. The third and most important stage is reached when we ourselves, to whatever party we belong, become aware of the social conditioning of our own thought. As soon as this stage is reached, the foundations of all thought and of all morality are shaken. We today are living in a world which intellectually is threatened and may before long be shattered about our heads.

There is no longer any absolute or ultimate truth or goodness. But, as Professor Mannheim is deeply concerned to shew, this does not necessitate the conclusion that all knowledge is relative and without

any objective validity. What we must learn to recognize is not the "relativity" of knowledge, but its "relatedness." In so far as we can trace the connection between a particular type of thought and a particular type of social environment we shall be able to discount those elements in thought which are socially conditioned, and thus arrive at a wider truth which is not confined within a restrictedly local and temporal frame of social reference. For any such reconstruction of thought with a wider validity we must be aware, not only of our own uncriticized presuppositions given to us with the authority of a social group as their only guarantee, we must also be aware of our own unconscious motivations and know why it is that we accept this or that type of thought as convincing. In this urgently needed reconstruction of our intellectual and moral systems, religion will be found to be indispensable. To serve this purpose, however, religion must first be subjected to sociological criticism.

Religion, for instance, must not think to correct ideologies by utopias. Utopias differ from ideologies mainly in this, that whereas "ideology" aims at stabilizing a particular type of social order, "utopia" aims at substituting a different type of social order. Neither ideology nor utopia, however, understands the soul of man or the nature of the environment in which this or that man must seek satisfaction for his soul.

The examination of some of the significant utopias is of great interest, especially the section devoted to the Chiliasm of Münzer and the German Anabaptists. But the urgency of the matter is brought home most forcibly in the treatment of the ideologies of Marx and Mussolini. But while we are finding satisfaction in the exposure of the ideologies of other groups we must never forget that the same method of criticism must be applied to every group and its intellectual and moral system. Professor Mannheim regards his studies as an introduction to the sociological study of all forms of knowledge. Theologians may be prompted to apply the method to Biblical interpretation and to the whole field of doctrine. A suggestion that is made more than once must certainly be considered in any reconstruction of morals. Professor Mannheim insists that we have not recognized the important part played by "the resentment of a depressed social class" in the formation of a moral code.

To whatever group we belong, socially or ecclesiastically, we may be sure that the reason why our principles seem to us to be absolute is because they have been given to us by the group and not because they are necessarily of general validity. It is small wonder that such a merciless exposer of the ideological fallacies of all group-thinking should have found it expedient to leave his own country where "the ideology of National Socialism," far from being subjected to sociological criticism, is established by the State as the authoritative and orthodox faith of the nation. It is good to know that Professor Mannheim has been welcomed as a lecturer in the University of London. But in giving us such a valuable book he has turned the tables upon us and made us his debtors.

CYRIL H. VALENTINE.

EVERYMAN'S PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES. By the Bishop of London. Longmans. 2s. 6d. net.

For thirty years now the house of Longmans has published a Lent book each year at the request of the Bishop of London. He has marked the thirtieth year by writing the book himself. Here, then, in just over a hundred pages he gives us the kind of book which his friends would expect from him, simple, devotional and direct. He treats of such topics as the existence of God, the miracle of the Incarnation, sin, the Atonement and the Holy Spirit. In this compass a full theological treatment cannot, of course, be looked for, but the reader will find here and there references to standard works on the points under discussion. The Bishop has in view throughout the outlook and the needs of the ordinary intelligent man of good will. To such a reader he presents, sincerely and lucidly, the Christian case, drawing largely and appositely from the experiences of the many years of his devoted ministry. The Archbishop of Canterbury in an appreciative preface recommends this little book.

W. R. V. BRADE.

THE FORGIVENESSES OF JESUS CHRIST. A Study in the Gospels. By W. Emery Barnes, D.D. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

Dr. Barnes' little book is a careful study of those instances in our Lord's ministry where He exercises that authority to forgive sins which He claims in healing the paralytic, and in so doing makes claim in fact though not in form to the title Messiah or Christ. The author, as is fitting in a scholar of his eminence in knowledge of Hebrew literature and teaching, prefaces his examination by a chapter on forgiveness in the Old Testament and notes the different stages which mark the conception of forgiveness in the Jewish Church, and the conditions in which it is granted. The ethics of forgiveness gradually grow clearer, and finally two things stand out: (i.) God is the only source of forgiveness, which is of universal necessity; (ii.) the intercessions of men have a place in the granting of forgiveness.

In the New Testament the forgiveness extended by our Lord is the exercise of a delegated power (ἐξουσία), and this is fundamental to the teaching throughout the New Testament. It is a personal matter, and issues in the sinner's restoration to spiritual health.

Dr. Barnes then examines specific instances where our Lord exercises this delegated power, insisting that in each case the precise meaning of the language employed must be kept in mind in order to arrive at the true meaning of the forgiveness granted. In the case, *e.g.*, of the adulteress (John viii.), "Neither do I condemn thee" must be taken in the same sense as the condemnation intended by her accusers—namely, condemnation to death by stoning. The author quotes Bishop Wescott *in loc.*: "Our Lord declines to treat the legal penalty as that which corresponds to the real guile."

Discussing the possibility of forgiveness beyond the grave, the author dwells on the custom of baptism for the dead, practised in the Corinthian Church, and adduces the epistle for Easter Eve as indicating the possibility of such forgiveness.

In the course of his exposition Dr. Barnes has some severe things to

say as to "Form criticism," or as to the conclusions of such critics as Wrede or Wellhausen. Coming from the former Hulsean Professor, such criticisms rightly demand attention and consideration.

J. R. Pridie.

La Trappe in England. By a Religious of Holy Cross Abbey. Burns Oates. 7s. 6d.

Those who desire an intimate description of convent life could not do better than study these chronicles of an unknown monastery by an anonymous inmate of Holy Cross Abbey in Dorset. The Cistercian life is admittedly the most primitive form of monastic life in the Western Church. The life which is here disclosed to us is therefore of great archæological as well as human interest; and we learn that the habits of its inmates are regulated by the liturgy. For the life of the Trappists is so strictly contemplative that its founders have wisely made the most of the Church's cycle through the seasons, days and octaves, varying the prayers and thoughts and spiritual diet of its members accordingly.

The whole book is redolent of that unworldly atmosphere that comes partly from a life of prayer and partly from living right up against the created things of God—beneath the spell of the country and its many growths. It is not, of course, a book for the many; but it is one in which the student of history, as well as of religion, will take delight. For the anonymous author sketches the growth of that great movement with the sure touch of an expert in all its concerns, and writes throughout with a breadth of humanity and a sweet reasonableness that does much to increase the charm of the book. It is one that, within its limited appeal, may certainly be said to be the best of its kind.

Ashley Sampson.

The Approach to God. A Study in the Covenant of Prayer. By Shirley C. Hughson, O.H.C. S.P.C.K. 5s.

If the Psychology of Religion has accomplished nothing else, it has stimulated interest in the technique of prayer. There was a time when the non-churchgoing section of the public imagined that Anglican prayer did little more than decorously call the attention of Heaven to the assembling of the High Court of Parliament and the unsatisfactory nature of the weather, while Nonconformist prayer, in rather more familiar language, pressed the claims of the Temperance cause or the Liberal Party's programme of Peace, Retrenchment and Reform. Suddenly, however, William James discovered that the saints exhibited unusually interesting states of mind, and psychologists were all agog to discover how they came by them. Ordinary Christians, who had prayed out of spiritual instinct or a sense of duty, began to wonder if they could not learn to pray better by studying the craft of prayer. Hence the enormous output of books intended to satisfy the souls that cry, "Teach us how to pray."

Many people take, with wonderful delight, to the most difficult of spiritual exercises, but others are completely bewildered by the complexity

of methods suggested to them. I know one earnest young man who, after reading through pages of instruction on Ignatian, Salesian and other methods of prayer, and learning of "remote preparation," "proximate preparation" "composition of place" and all the rest of it, cried in dismay, "Have I got to do all that before I pray? Can't I just kneel down and begin?"

Father Hughson's books will bewilder no one. The volume before us is exactly suited to the man who wants to "kneel down and begin."

Eleven chapters are devoted to simple, but scholarly and very thoughtful, comments on the Lord's Prayer. The remaining nine chapters explain the covenant of prayer. Prayer must be "in accordance with the divine will; it must be offered in the Name of Christ and in obedience and in faith; all efforts after prayer must be made in direct dependence on the Holy Spirit; there must be maintained an attitude of thanksgiving, and a spirit of forgiveness and of perseverance." When our prayer fulfils these conditions God will not fail to fulfil His promises and to bestow on us His choicest gifts.

The *Approach to God* is a most useful book for all who wish to progress in knowledge of Him. For those whose interest in prayer is purely academic, it is abysmally dull.

ÆLFRIDA TILLYARD.

A STUDY OF BOSSUET. By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.

To most educated Englishmen Bossuet is probably little more than a name. But in his own country he shines with a lustre that is unsurpassed. This estimate is not a tribute to Bossuet the churchman but to Bossuet the writer. It is true that of all the great figures which the French Church has produced he is beyond question the greatest. But to admire Bossuet it is not necessary to be a Catholic: it is sufficient to be a Frenchman. In the majestic flight of his imagination and in the austere splendour of his rhetoric he seems to his compatriots to embody the French genius in its highest manifestation and to be even akin to our own Shakespeare.

Yet in his own eyes Bossuet was first and last a theologian. His literary art was used by him simply as a means to an end—to commend the Catholic Faith as he conceived it and to defend it against every sort of opponent. To him theological debate was the salt of life: nor was he overscrupulous as to the manner in which he pursued it. When he fought he fought to win. It is from this point of view that Dr. Sparrow Simpson has studied him in his well-planned and lucid book. He makes no attempt at a formal and detailed biography—a task which indeed is hardly necessary in view of the late Miss E. K. Sanders's excellent work published in 1921. The book is what its title says—a "study of Bossuet," and of Bossuet as theologian. For writing it Dr. Simpson is very well qualified. To begin with, he is what many writers on Bossuet are not—an accomplished theologian himself, thoroughly conversant with the doctrinal questions with which the great Bishop of Meaux concerned himself. As an Anglican, too, he is able to write from a detached and objective standpoint, without the necessity of continually apologizing for his subject to which the Roman Catholic of today is forced to submit. Further, he has prepared

himself for his task by a thorough study of Bossuet's writings, including the large amount of new material that has become available since the beginning of the present century. His book is of no great length—not much more than 200 pages in all—but a formidable amount of hard work evidently lies behind it. Bossuet's theological works alone run to 31 volumes: and the author has also made copious use of the Bishop's letters, which now fill 15 volumes in the imposing *Grands Écrivains Français* edition. To have the fruits of such a range of reading presented in so compact and clear a form is an advantage indeed: and the book will be indispensable to every serious student of its subject. Nor is it concerned with matters of merely academic and antiquarian interest. Many of the issues which stand forth in its pages are just as alive today as they ever were, even though they no longer excite such universal attention as in Bossuet's time. For Roman Catholics, of course, his passionate Gallicanism is now branded as " error " sufficient to place its holder outside the gate of the Church. But the Anglican reader of Dr. Sparrow Simpson's book can hardly fail to be struck with the close resemblance in many respects between Bossuet's theological position and that of a large section of our own Church. And, feeling this, he will realize more than ever how fatal a blow was struck at the hope of Christian unity when the party of Bossuet's enemies triumphed at the Vatican Council of 1870.

C. S. Phillips.

The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis. His Ministry in America and Consecration as First Colonial Bishop, from 1759 to 1787. By John Wolfe Lydekker. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

On August 12, 1787, Charles Inglis was consecrated first Bishop of Nova Scotia. In spite of the fact that he occupied a fairly important place in the history of the American Church before that date, as in that of the Canadian Church after it, the present is the first book dedicated to his life.

Mr. Lydekker has made up his book mostly of the publication of Inglis' correspondence. His letters to the Secretary of the S.P.G. come from the Society's archives, his American correspondence from the collections of the New York Historical Society. The latter is important, containing letters to Samuel Johnson of Stratford, the patriarch of the Church of England in America in the 1760's, to whom Inglis reported his activities at that time, and to William White, the leader in the post-Revolutionary reorganization of the Church.

The work begins with Inglis' service at Dover, Delaware, 1759-1765, in which we see the problems of the S.P.G. missionary of that time. In 1765 Inglis became assistant at Trinity, New York, and found himself in the thick of political controversies and church business in that city and colony. During the beginning of the Revolution Inglis was an active Loyalist, remaining at his post under great difficulties. In 1776 the British forces occupied New York, and from 1777 to 1783 Inglis was rector during the war period with its unusual responsibilities. At the evacuation he retired to England, where he was fittingly chosen as the first colonial Bishop. The book concludes with a summary of his episcopate.

Many interesting historical questions are illustrated. We see the pre-Revolutionary beginnings of the democratic institutions of the American

Church with its conventions, its rights of vestries, its co-operation of clergy and laity in the direction of its general business. Inglis' share in the American episcopate movement of the 1760's and the establishment of the Mohawk mission in 1770-71 exemplify that combination of sincerely religious arguments with considerations of their political effects which caused so much opposition to the Church in America at that period. In the negotiations which led to the final consecration of Bishops for America at Lambeth Inglis had an important share in making known to White the High Church objections to his scheme of 1782 for dispensing with the episcopal succession if necessary, and later the opposition of the English Bishops to the radical proposals in constitution and liturgy of the General Convention of 1785. The consecration of White and Provoost, which preceded Inglis' by some six months, was arranged when the American Church had made sufficiently clear that it was loyally Anglican in principle, though flexible as the needs of time and place demanded in matters of detail.

Mr. Lydekker has been remarkable in thinking himself into the attitude of the often misunderstood eighteenth century. We shall expect further contributions from him on the church history of this period, which is now receiving more intelligent interest on both sides of the Atlantic.

E. R. Hardy, jr. (*New York*).

Family Π and the Codex Alexandrinus. By Silva Lake. "Studies and Documents—V." Christophers. 15s.

The series in which this monograph appears is the American successor to the Cambridge *Texts and Studies* now unhappily defunct. Probably No. I., The Excerpta ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria, is its best-known member, but that awaited with the greatest interest is the Iguvine Tablets, on which an authoritative treatise has long been wanted.

The two uncial MSS. in Family Π are Π itself, the Codex Petropolitanus of the ninth century at Leningrad, and K, the Codex Cyprius in Paris, which is commonly dated in the same century, but here shewn not to be earlier than the tenth, and probably to belong to the eleventh century. Of the minuscules the most important are 114, 1,079, 1,129, 1,346, and 1,500. On p. 29 is an elaborate *stemma* shewing how these and others are interrelated. The conclusion reached is that the Alexandrine MS., A, and the Petropolitan Π, from which the whole Π family is derived, with, of course, varying admixture from either sources, are descended from a common lost original X; and X has a mixed Cæsarean and Alexandrine text. The name "Cæsarean" is derived from Streeter's *Four Gospels*, 1924, and embraces the texts of the Θ family, the Koridethi Gospels and Families I and XIII and their satellites. Streeter argued that Origen at Alexandria used MSS. of the ℵ B type associated with that city, but that when he came to Cæsarea he found MSS. of the Θ type and used them. But in the same year Professor Kirsopp Lake shewed in the *Harvard Theological Review* that Origen may have used the Cæsarean text before he left Alexandria, and that on his first arrival at Cæsarea he certainly used the Alexandrine text, so that though he subsequently used the Cæsarean, he may have himself brought it from Alexandria to Palestine,

and in consequence the name "Cæsarean" must be used with caution. The Cæsarean was described as a mixture of Westcott and Hort's "Neutral" and "Western" texts, but what texts are not mixed? Mrs. Lake answers, "None of those known." The only certainly unmixed text was the original, and to this we can do no more than approximate.

It is needless to say that with such an authoress this is a complete and workmanlike monograph, including a critical text of St. Mark according to the Π family, and no textual specialist can afford to neglect it; but until the discovery of new papyri of an early date, which, of course, may occur at any time, textual criticism would seem nearly to have reached its possible limits.

F. J. Badcock.

The Via Media. By C. P. S. Clarke, Archdeacon of Chichester. Longmans. 5s.

It is good to find a distinguished writer unashamed in defence of "the middle way," for of late that position has been held up to scorn in many quarters. In seven chapters the Archdeacon maintains the thesis that there is a Catholicism which is non-Roman and that the principles of this Catholicism are the solid foundation of the faith confessed by the Churches of the Anglican Communion. He deals first with the difficult question of authority. He dismisses the idea of "oracular" authority, which he identifies with infallibility, after discussing the supremacy of Peter in the New Testament and summarizing the evidence of early Church history; the term infallibility as applied to the Church is unfortunate and worse as applied to the Bible. The authority of the Church is expressed in Holy Scripture and in tradition embodied in the Creeds and codified, so far, in conciliar decrees. How "tradition is applied" is the subject of a long chapter full of knowledge and sound reasoning; and on Freedom, which is the glory of the Via Media position, the Archdeacon is illuminating in shewing the place of reason, intuition, experienced and private judgment in the pursuit of Christian truth.

There is much more in this book than meets either the eye or the mind; a second reading of it convinces this reviewer that it would not only afford a first-rate basis for discussions at clerical gatherings, but also prove a quarry out of which materials for a course or courses of instructive sermons could be drawn, sermons not ready made but produced by a thoughtful assimilation of the contents of this volume.

W. Perry.

Baron Friedrich von Hügel. A Study of his Life and Thought. By Maurice Nédoncelle. Translated by Marjorie Vernon. Longmans. 8s. 6d.

Baron von Hügel has at least one characteristic in common with Cardinal Newman—he was a Roman Catholic who exercised a wide influence outside his own communion, who appeared to it to be little more than an embarrassment during his lifetime, and who is being loudly acclaimed by its members as a typical product after his death. Much has been

written about his thought and influence by Anglicans and Protestant Dissenters; at last his own Church is beginning to realize his importance, though it is doubtful whether the authorities of the Roman Church in England are as appreciative of him as is his French biographer. Be that as it may, here is a very interesting book, written by one who is a hearty admirer.

It is true that in places the Abbé Nédoncelle has felt constrained to remark that the Baron's views on various matters differed from those of the official *ecclesia docens*; one is also given to understand that the English edition presents a rather more roseate view of the Baron's orthodoxy than does the French original. Nevertheless, the biographer's contention that " from first to last von Hügel was a convinced and devoted Catholic " may be accepted, if we add that the authorities of his own Church were clearly at times reluctant to acknowledge him as such.

His life is dealt with briefly in the opening chapter, and the bulk of the book is devoted to an exposition of his thought. It proceeds from the general to the particular; the Method of Religious Philosophy, the Natural Order, Christianity, the Church, and the Mystical Life are dealt with in turn, each under its several subdivisions. The treatment is compressed, but always clear, and it brings out the originality and devotion of the Baron's thought most impressively. It is impossible in a short space to do more than indicate a few of the more important and striking sections. The problem of evil is shewn to be a problem only because we already believe in God before we approach it. " It is faith itself which has taught us to discern and hate evil. Faith alone makes this insoluble problem tolerable " (pp. 118, 119). Yet the problem *is* insoluble; contrast Eric Gill in *The Necessity of Belief*; and there is a remarkable insistence on the impassibility of God. " Jesus never suggested that God could suffer. . . . He is compassionate to His creatures' sufferings, but He Himself does not suffer. . . . Father Damien had no need to be a leper himself in order to love lepers " (pp. 122, 123). May we add that Father Damien did nevertheless become a leper—and God became man ? The chapter on the Mystical Life is worth reading and re-reading, and the last chapter, in which the Baron's views on religion and life are summarized, brings the book to a fine close.

This is a first-rate book, which raises many questions, and answers some of them. Is there a von Hügel tradition in the Roman Church today, or is the Abbé simply writing of the past ? Is von Hügel really in the scholastic tradition, or is he, as has been generally assumed, a rebel against it. And what would Berdyaev and von Hügel say to one another ?

E. L. MASCALL.

THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION. By E. O. James, D. Litt., Ph.D., F.S.A. The Unicorn Press. 3s. 6d.

In just over one hundred and fifty pages Dr. James gives an amazingly vivid picture of the customs of primitive peoples, and to the best of his ability seeks to explain them. Though a specialist in anthropology and archæology he writes with the minimum of technical terms, and so the ordinary reader is presented with a thrilling view of that dark past out of which have evolved many weird religious systems and social customs. A very acute differentiation is made between " religion " and " magic," and the latter is defined as being " a stimulation of the real act, a ritualized

expression of an emotional desire enacted by word and deed in the conviction that automatically they produce the end for which they are designed. The magician compels while the priest supplicates the superhuman powers and merely acts on their behalf as their agent " (pp. 39 and 42).

Dr. James is at his best when he reveals the ancient conception of the soul, but the chapter which will probably most fascinate is that on " The Cult of the Dead," wherein a multitude of extraordinary and interesting facts are disclosed in simple language. There is also a very concise account on the worship of Kings, Heroes, Ancestors and Gods, and the book closes with an essay on the relation of Religion to Society. For so small a volume it is a veritable mine of information, and on almost every page there is something good and unusual to be learned. There are few who could give the correct explanations of the following habits or feelings which are selected at random from this intriguing book—the concern for a child who sneezes, putting one's hand before one's mouth when yawning, the dislike of primitive people to being photographed or the ancient custom of regicide.

It is difficult to overpraise the extent and learning of this volume, which might well be entitled " Anthropology without Tears." The result of reading it is to realize with a revived reality the incurable religious nature of mankind—" Not only are there no peoples, however primitive, among whom it (*i.e.*, religion) is absent, but in every living culture it is the sacred tradition and its ritual that constitute the spiritual dynamic essential for social cohesion and sustained effort " (p. 134)—but also to realize how close to all forms of religion stalks the subtle spirit of superstition.

PATRICK COWLEY.

THE DECLINE AND RISE OF THE CONSUMER. By Horace M. Kallen. (Appleton-Century, 34, Bedford Square. 10s. 6d.)

BROTHERHOOD ECONOMICS. By T. Kagawa. (Student Movement Press. 5s.)

The publication of these two books in England almost at the same time is significant. Both come to us from America, but both are opportune. If, as has been suggested, the practical Christianity of Dr. Kagawa should prove to be the way of redemption for the West, then at this crisis in the affairs of men it will be a remarkable thing to find the West deeply indebted to the East.

The Decline and Rise of the Consumer is a large and thoroughgoing study of Consumer Economics. Consumers by birth and nature, and producers by nurture and untoward necessity, men have striven blindly but unremittingly to win back the natural freedom of their nativity. The birth, the fortunes, and the meaning of consumer co-operation in a world where production is master constitute the theme of the book. It opens with an extremely interesting historical survey of the change-over from days when the consumer was the privileged person and production was the work of slaves or serfs to modern times, when the producer is alike master and man, supreme, alone, the maker and lord of all tangible virtues of civilization. Thence, through an elaborate analysis of economic theories, to a section on the economics of freedom. This section is illustrated mainly from conditions in America, but we regretfully note, on p. 289, the sentence: " Even where a church is, as

in England, established and state-supported." No doubt it is difficult for an American citizen to realize that Establishment does not carry with it State support, but it is unfortunate that the error should be allowed to appear. The third section is concerned with the future, and proposes the Co-operative Movement as the true solution to present-day problems in face of Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and the like. The book deserves careful study.

Brotherhood Economics attacks the problem entirely from a Christian point of view. Perhaps the thesis of the book can best be expressed in Kagawa's own words. "The Christian consciousness," he says, "is intimately concerned with this new co-operative system. Someone may say, 'We are without a hope of the Kingdom of God on earth. We do not rely upon economic movements. We wish to be very spiritual, and to forget other things.' That sounds very like Buddhism! The Buddhists seek seclusion from the world. We, who are Christians, however, have a Cross to carry, the Cross of Jesus. We are to march on to fight through evils, even the social evils. We aim to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. The Co-operative Movement is in accord with Christian ideals of love and brotherhood. What we need is a revival of brotherhood consciousness, of Christian brotherhood. As long as they preach communism in Russia there will be the same old story of disputes, strikes, and revolution. That is a disease, that kind of fighting spirit. We must devote our energy, which we are now dissipating on friction between classes, to the invention of new social techniques and to the discovery of new laws in the universe." Kagawa's book is, obviously, a record of spoken words; and he has the knack of speaking simply. Here, then, we have a simple proposal simply put. It is, however, a proposal which needs careful consideration and thoughtful criticism. The book is, therefore, admirably adapted for discussion groups, and can be confidently recommended to those groups of younger people whose consciences are uneasy concerning the present world order. It ought to lead them to the larger work, with its very full bibliography.

H. S. MARSHALL.

DER KAMPF DER DEUTSCHEN CHRISTENHEIT MIT DEN SCHWARMGEISTERN. By Wilhelm Lütgert. Gütersloh (C. Bertelsmann). 1936. Price 1.60 M.

This book contains four lectures directed against the German Faith Movement of Dr. Hauer and Graf Reventlow. They criticize in turn its Anti-Semitism and doctrines of race, its Mysticism, and its teaching about self-sufficiency; and argue that, apart from more fundamental considerations, the Movement cannot claim in any of these respects to express the German character. The author's style has a lucidity and directness not common in German theological literature. On p. 19 there is an incidental reference to "the great influence which from St. Boniface to the 'gegenwärtige Oxforder Bewegung' Anglo-Saxon Christianity has exercised upon the German Church."

F. L. CROSS.

CORRIGENDA

ARTICLE: DE LAMMENAIS AND FATHER TYRRELL.

Page 364, paragraph 3, line 2, *for* not *read* but.
Page 371, paragraph 3, line 16, *for* not *read* now.

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